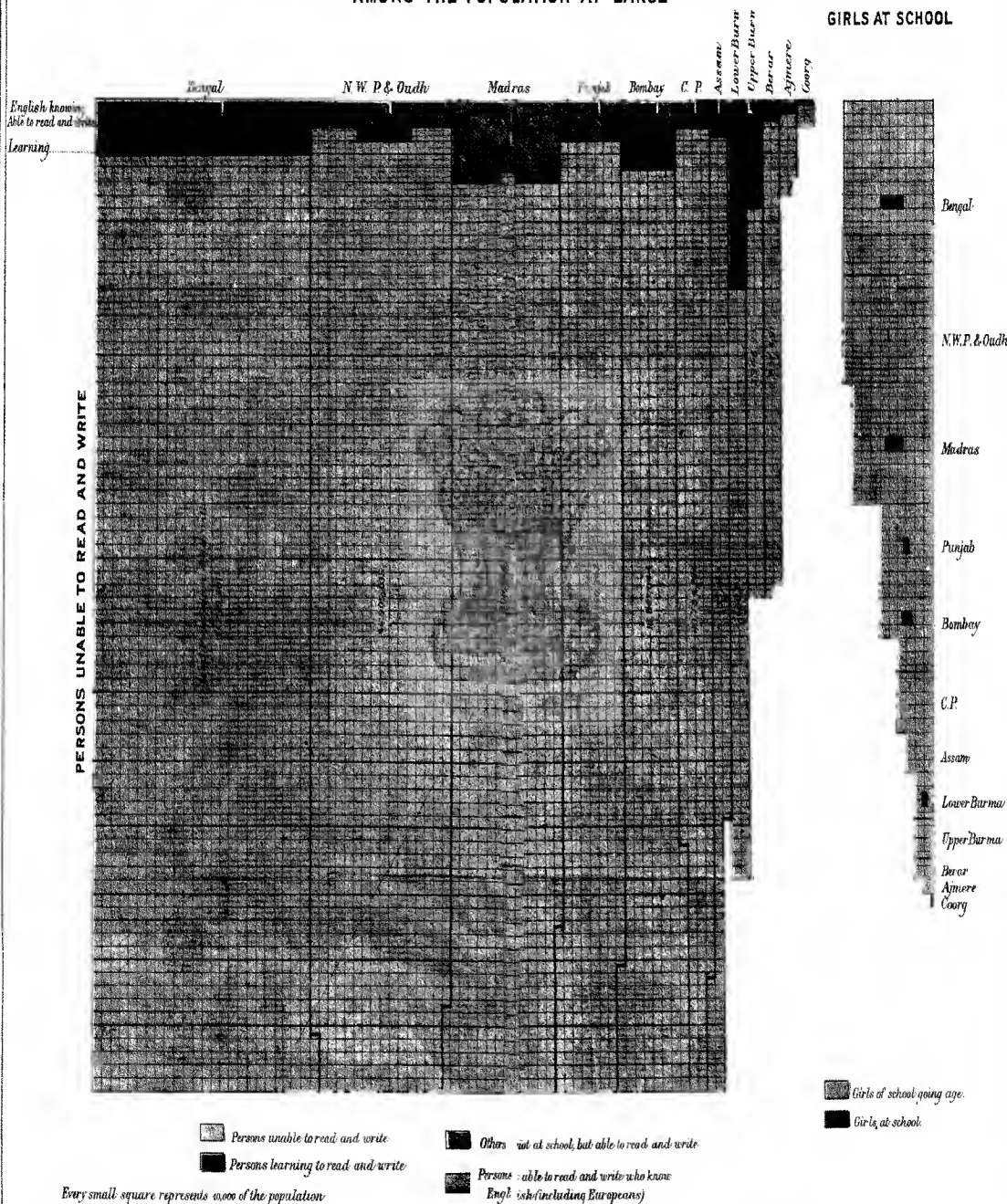


EDUCATION IN BRITISH INDIA

IN 1905

AMONG THE POPULATION AT LARGE

GIRLS AT SCHOOL



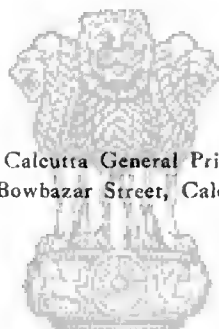
VERNACULAR EDUCATION IN BENGAL FROM 1813 TO 1912

By
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सत्यमेव जयते

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ERRATA.

Page 156, footnote, *read* page 96 *for* pages 160 and 181.

Page 160, line 6, *read* junior *before* grade.

Page 168, last line, *read* primary *for* primay.

Page 173, footnote, *read* page 126 *for* page 259.

Page 198, line 12, *read* principal *for* principle.

सत्यमेव जयते

“IF we are ever to arrive at an understanding of things as they are, it can only be by a knowledge of the process by which they came to be so.”

H. L. WITHERS.

INTRODUCTORY.

The intention in these pages is to outline the development and progress of Vernacular Education in Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, from 1813, when the East India Company first engaged to promote the education of its Indian subjects, to 1912, the year in which Bihar and Orissa were withdrawn from the Presidency of Bengal, and constituted into a separate Province. That the period traversed is precisely a century is a happy coincidence.

No pretension to originality is advanced. The aim has been briefly to recount occurrences in the order of their happening; and, to preserve fidelity in narration, events have been recited, whenever possible, in the language of those who recorded them.

CHAPTER I.

*From the Despatch of 1813 to the Administration of
Lord William Bentinck.*

IT is not apparent at what date the East India Company first turned its attention to the education of the peoples of India. It is true that it established the Calcutta Madrassah in 1782 and the Benares Sanskrit College in 1791. But the object in founding them was self-interest,

for they were to furnish maulvis and pandits who should be competent to cite Muhammadan and Hindu Law in causes that had to be tried by British Magistrates.

Sir John Shore on the Education of the Masses.

However, so far back as the administration of Sir John Shore (1793-1798) the subject of the education of the masses had claimed consideration. In his *Notes on Indian Affairs* he asked "Is a rational attempt to educate the people of this great country to be made? Or are they to be allowed to remain in their present state of ignorance?—that is, as far as relates to the assistance of their English masters. . . . What has been, and what ought to have been, the course pursued by the British Rulers? Certainly it was their duty *first* to have ordained that the language and character of the country should be that of the Courts of Justice; *secondly*, to have established schools, or at least to have encouraged those that already existed, for the education of the people in their own language and character; *thirdly*, to have promoted the translation of books of knowledge into the vernacular tongue; and, *fourthly*, to have afforded all who had leisure, or inclination the means of acquiring that knowledge in which the most general information is concentrated, the English."

Lord Moira on Indigenous Education as it existed.

About twenty years later, Lord Moira, in his Minute of the 2nd October, 1815, wrote thus :—"The general, the sad defect of this education (indigenous) is that the inculcation of moral principles forms no part of it. This radical want is not imputable to us. The necessity of self-defence (for all our extensions of our territory have been achieved in repelling efforts made for the subversion of our power) and our occupation in securing the new possessions have allowed us, till lately, but little leisure to examine deliberately the state of the population which we had been gradually bringing beneath our sway. It was already vitiated. The unceasing wars which had harassed all parts of India, left everywhere their

invariable effects—a disorganization of that frame-work of habit and opinion which enforces moral conduct and an emancipation of all those irregular impulses which revolt at its restraint. The village schoolmasters could not teach that in which they themselves had never been instructed; and universal debasement of mind, the constant concomitant of subjugation to despotic rule, left no chance that an innate sense of equity should in those confined circles suggest the recommendation of the principles not thought worthy of cultivation by the Government.

His Proposals in the Matter of Moral Instruction.

“The remedy for this is to furnish the village schoolmaster with little manuals of religious sentiment and ethic maxims conveyed in such a shape as may be attractive to the scholars, taking care that, while awe and adoration of the Supreme Being are earnestly instilled, no jealousy be excited by pointing out any particular creed. The absence of such an objection and small pecuniary rewards for zeal, occasionally administered by the Magistrates, would induce the masters to use those compilations readily.” In another part of the same minute Lord Moira continued:—“The moral and intellectual improvement of the natives will necessarily form a prominent feature of any plan which may arise from the above suggestions; and I have, therefore, not failed to turn my most solicitous attention to the important object of public education. *The humble but valuable class of village schoolmasters claims the first place in this discussion.* These men teach the first rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic for a trifling stipend which is within reach of any man’s means, and the instruction which they are capable of imparting suffices for the village zemindar, the village accountant, and the village shopkeeper. As the public money would be ill-appropriated in merely providing gratuitous access to that quantum of education which is already attainable, *any intervention of Government, either by superintendence or by contribution, should be directed to the improvement of existing*

tuition, and to the diffusion of it to places and persons now out of its reach. Improvement and diffusion may go hand in hand ; yet the latter is to be considered a matter of calculation, while the former should be deemed positively incumbent."

Sir Charles Metcalfe's Statesman-like Views.

Sentiments such as those expressed by Lord Moira towards the education of the Company's Indian subjects were entertained by others besides him. Within a month of Lord Moira's minute Sir Charles Metcalfe thus pleaded for the education of "our native subjects":—"The world is governed by an irresistible power which giveth and taketh away dominion, and vain would be the impotent prudence of man against the operations of its almighty influence. All that rulers can do is to merit dominion by promoting the happiness of those under them. If we perform our duty in this respect, the gratitude of India, and the admiration of the world, will accompany our name through all ages whatever may be the revolutions of futurity ; but if we withhold our blessings from our subjects from a selfish apprehension of possible danger at a remote period, we shall not deserve to keep our dominion ; we shall merit that reverse which time has possibly in store for us ; and shall fall with the mingled hatred and contempt, hisses and execrations of mankind. . . . The more blessings we confer on them (our native subjects) the better hold shall we have on their affections, and in consequence the greater strength and duration to our empire."

The East India Company in 1813 allots One Lakh of Rupees for the Encouragement of Oriental Classical Languages.

The Court of Directors at Home were in accord with these far-seeing and statesman-like views. Indeed, Act LIII of King George III. (1813), communicated to the Governor-General in 1814, enacted:—"It shall be lawful for the Governor-General in Council to direct that out of any surplus which may remain of the rents, revenues and profits after defraying all civil and military charges, a sum of not less than one lakh of rupees (£10,000)

in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories of India.”*

This may be regarded as the First Education Despatch. But the Court of Directors do not appear to have had in mind any well-defined scheme of education. Such instructions as they gave, had direct reference to Oriental Classical Languages.

Vernacular Education to be fostered.

Their Despatch, however, did not definitely exclude the vernacular instruction imparted in the indigenous rural schools :—“ We refer with particular satisfaction upon this occasion to that distinguished feature of internal polity which prevails in some parts of India, and by which the instruction of the people is provided for by a certain charge upon the produce of the soil, and by other endowments in favour of the village teachers, who are thereby rendered public servants of the community. . . . This venerable and benevolent institution of the Hindoos is represented to have withstood the shock of revolutions, and to its operation is ascribed the general intelligence of the natives as scribes and accountants. We are so strongly persuaded of its great utility, that we are desirous you should take early measures to inform yourselves of its present state,† and that you will report to us the result of your enquiries, affording in the meantime the protection of Government to the village teachers in all their just rights and immunities, and marking, by some favourable distinction, any individual amongst them who may be recommended by superior merit or acquirements ; for humble as their station may appear, if judged by a comparison with any corresponding character in this country, we understand

* Section 43, Cap. 155 of LIII George III., 1813.

† No action was taken till 1835, when Lord William Bentinck deputed Mr. W. Adam to make a survey of indigenous education in Bengal. See Chapter II.

those village teachers are held in great veneration throughout India." *

The Despatch of 1814 explains the object upon which the One Lakh Grant was to be expended.

Act LIII of 1813 was clear upon one point at least, viz., that part of the one lakh of rupees was to be spent upon the "introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences." The Governor-General and his Council did not quite understand whether the sciences under reference were those of the West or of the East. To dispel all doubt the Court of Directors, in their Despatch of 1814, explained that by "sciences" was meant the Oriental Sciences—the systems of ethics written in the Sanskrit language which embodied "codes of laws and compendiums of the duties relating to every class of people," and which treated of "all the virtues of plants and drugs"—and "many other things the study of which might do much to form links of communication between Indians and European officials."

Immediate effect could not be given to the Educational Scheme of the East India Company.

The way was now cleared for action. But the hour was unpropitious. Lord Minto had just quitted office and a new Governor-General had arrived—the Marquis of Hastings. The Pindaris were harrying Central India. The Gurkha War claimed the years 1814 to 1816. The Pindari War occupied 1817. The Fourth Maratha War followed in 1817-1819. Obviously, it was not possible to develop schemes of education when all available time and thought

* The local authorities do not appear to have fostered the indigenous system of education. Mr. Howell (1866-67) makes the following reflections:—"It is much to be regretted that, as each Province fell under our rule, the Government did not take advantage of the time when the prestige of conquest, or gratitude for delivery from war and oppression, were strong in the popular mind, to make the village school an important feature in the village system that was almost everywhere transmitted to us. Had this been done, and had the numerous village allowances been diverted to this object, and had the Government devoted itself to the improvement of school-books and schoolmasters, instead of establishing a few new schools (*N.B.*, Between 1821 and 1823) of its own, and thereby encouraging the belief that it was for the State, and not for the community, to look after education, the work of general improvement would have been substituted for the work of partial construction and we should have had in every Province a really adequate system of national education."

had to be devoted to the subjection of the turbulent forces that swirled around a not yet firmly established foreign Government.

Private Individuals and Missionaries interest themselves in the Education of the People

But what the Company could not do had already been essayed by planters and missionaries. For example, in 1803, Mr. Ellerton, an indigo planter at Malda, had established several vernacular schools on his "concern" and had written certain text-books in Bengali for use in them. In 1814 the Rev. Robert May, a Christian Missionary, set up 16 schools in and around Chinsurah. So successful were these schools that Mr. Gordon Forbes, the British Commissioner at Chinsurah, brought them to the favourable notice of the Government, who made a monthly allowance (afterwards increased to Rs. 1,800) of Rs. 600 to Mr. May to support and extend the school system he had introduced. The result was that by the time Mr. May died in 1818, he left 36 schools attended by 3,000 pupils including Hindus and Muhammadans. It had been his practice to attach a pandit of capacity to a small group of schools, and in his schools he improved upon the indigenous system of oral instruction by introducing printed books both entertaining and instructive. On Mr. May's death the Government availed itself of two other missionaries, Messrs. Pearson and Harley, who opened a considerable number of schools between Khulna and Shamnagar, and later on at Bankipore. They too wrote several text-books in Bengali. Meanwhile, the Serampore Missionaries, Carey, Marshman and Ward, were not inactive. They established 20 schools in the vicinity of Calcutta, and their printing press issued a series of vernacular school-books.

Stewart's Schools at Burdwan.

Concurrently with these activities in the direction of elementary education for the masses, in 1816 the Church Missionary Society, through the agency of Captain Stewart, began to open vernacular schools in and around Burdwan.

In 1818 they were ten in number ; cost about Rs. 16 each a month ; and afforded instruction to 1,000 children.

How his Schools were conducted.

In the schools instruction was given from dictation. The monitor, with the text-book in his hand, had to pronounce a portion of each sentence audibly and deliberately, while each boy in the class wrote it down in his copybook. When the lesson for the day was completed, the necessary corrections in each pupil's book were also made by the monitor. Every boy in turn had then to read aloud what he had written—sentence by sentence. The advantages claimed for this scheme of instruction were that one printed book served for a dozen children ; that the pupils made concurrent progress in penmanship and spelling ; and that they acquired a facility in reading and writing their own language. It was further postulated that a spirit of animation and emulation was engendered ; that instruction was combined with pleasure ; and that important facts and truths written from dictation and read over three or four times, could not fail to remain deeply impressed on the memory.

Local Opposition.

The Rev. J. Long thus gives an account of the difficulties against which Captain Stewart had to contend :—
“ At the commencement of his labours, he encountered considerable opposition. Reports were industriously circulated that it was his design to ship all the children to England. And it was then sufficient objection to a book being read if it contained the *name* of Jesus. A case occurred near Burdwan where a Hindu, rather than give his child to be educated by the Missionary, left it out at night to be devoured by jackals ! There were five Brahmanical schools in Burdwan, the masters of which were afraid that their own institutions would be broken up by the missionary schools. They, therefore, fulminated curses against any natives who should send their children to Captain Stewart's schools. But he chose his teachers

from among the ablest natives in the villages where his schools were to be established, and thus disarmed opposition by the bait of self-interest, and the five Brahmanical schools were soon abandoned. The introduction of *printed* books into the schools at first caused alarm. The natives apprehended it was some plan for ensnaring their children and destroying their caste!—as all instruction was previously conveyed through manuscript, and it was remarked of the village masters ‘if you put a book into their hands, they are unable to read it, and are still less able to understand its general contents’. . . . Besides the outlines of Astronomy and of the History of England, which were introduced into these schools, Captain Stewart also caused instruction to be given in some few of the preambles of the Honourable Company’s Regulations, which are particularly calculated to convince the people of India that Government anxiously desire to promote their comfort and advantage. In reading these, their first and most deep-rooted impressions are in favour of their rulers, and submission will consequently follow from attachment and love.”

David Hare establishes Schools in Calcutta.

During the years immediately preceding 1817, David Hare, Watch-maker, Educationist and Philanthropist, in association with Raja Radha Kanta Deva, a well-known Sanskrit scholar of the day, improved the condition of the vernacular schools in and around Calcutta. He employed instructing pandits to visit the gurus and teach them. He also gave gifts of books to the gurus. Later on, he established a sort of central vernacular school, which almost immediately passed to the control of the Calcutta School Society. An English school was soon after established near the central vernacular school. The two schools held classes at different hours—the vernacular from sunrise to 9 o’clock and the English from 10-30 to 2-30, and the vernacular again from 3-30 to sunset. By this arrangement boys in the vernacular schools were enabled to attend the English school if they so desired,

Demand for Instruction in English.

And most of them did desire to learn English. The Court of Directors had made no move whatever in favour of an English education for the natives ; but they were not to be denied it. In Calcutta, Eurasian teachers—chief among whom was Henry Louis Vivian Derozio—and natives who had learnt a little of English, set up private English schools, or gave instruction in English in the homes of the more well-to-do. The Missionaries too taught English in their schools, and their schools flourished in spite of caste and religious prejudices. Indian enterprise established Vernacular Schools with English Departments. One such school was at Tuntunia (Thanthania) in Cornwallis Street, nearly opposite the Temple of Kali. Another school with only an English Department was held in the house afterwards occupied by Babu Bhuban Mohan Mitra's school. (*N.B.*—These two schools were amalgamated in 1834 and formed into the David Hare High School.)

Calcutta School Book Society established.

Of indigenous elementary schools there was an abundance. In them the beginnings of reading, writing and arithmetic were taught, but not from books, for the art of printing in Bengali was unknown, except to the Serampore Missionaries. To make cheap printed books available to schools of all classes, the Calcutta School Book Society was established in 1817. Four years later on it received from Government a donation of Rs. 7,000 and a monthly grant of Rs. 500.

Calcutta School Society established. Its Scope.

The year 1818 saw the founding of the Calcutta School Society through the influence and interest of the Marquis of Hastings. The objects for which it was established were as follows :—

“That its design be to assist and improve existing schools, and to establish and support any further schools and seminaries which may be requisite—with a view to

the more general diffusion of useful knowledge amongst the inhabitants of India of every description, especially those Provinces subject to the Presidency of Fort William.

“That it be also an object of the Society to select pupils of distinguished talents and merit from elementary and other schools, and to provide for their instruction in seminaries of a higher degree with the view of forming a body of qualified teachers and translators who may be instrumental in enlightening their countrymen and improving the general system of education. When the funds of this institution may admit of it, the maintenance and tuition of such pupils in distinct seminaries will be an object of importance.”

Its Operations.

The new Society began its operations by establishing five vernacular elementary schools which were intended “rather to improve (by serving as models) than to supersede the existing seminaries of the country : designed rather to educate the children of the poor than the numerous youth of this country whose parents are able and willing to pay for their instruction.” It attempted to raise the indigenous school to some level of efficiency by organizing a staff of agents, who from time to time visited them, examined the progress made by their pupils, and rewarded meritorious scholars with books. By 1821 the supervision of the Society extended to 115 schools in and near Calcutta and containing 3,828 pupils. In these schools the Bengali language was the only medium of instruction, and Hindu and Muhammadan children indifferently were received into them. For at the time Muhammadans had no indigenous elementary schools peculiar to themselves, nor had they any regular system of private tuition. Every father, it is true, “did what he could for the instruction of his children, either personally or by hiring a tutor ; but few fathers, however qualified for the task, could spare from their avocations the time necessary for the performance of such duties ;

and hired domestic instructors, though unquestionably held in more honour than among the Hindus, and treated with great respect by their pupils and employers, were always ill paid and often superannuated—men, in short, who betake themselves to that occupation only when they have ceased from age to be fit for any other. There were, moreover, few who were qualified to instruct their children, and fewer who were able to employ a tutor.”

Its Services.

Mr. Adam in his Report on Vernacular Education (1836) thus reviews the services rendered by the Calcutta School Society to the cause of popular education :—
“The improvements introduced by the School Society into the schools in immediate connexion with it are various. Printed, instead of manuscript, school-books are now in common use. The branches formerly taught are now taught more thoroughly; and instruction is extended to subjects formerly neglected, namely, the orthography of the Bengali language, geography, and moral truth and obligations. The mode of instruction has been improved. Formerly the pupils were arranged in different divisions according as they were learning to write on the ground with chalk, on the palm leaf, on the plantain leaf, or on paper, respectively; and each boy was taught separately by the schoolmaster in a distinct lesson. The system of teaching with the assistance of monitors, and of arranging the boys in classes formed with reference to similarity of ability or proficiency has been adopted; and as in some instances it has enabled the teachers to increase the number of their pupils very considerably, and thereby their own emoluments, it is hoped that it will ultimately have the effect of encouraging men of superior acquirements to undertake the duties of instructors of youth. The system of superintendence has been organized by the appointment of a pandit and a sircar to each of the four divisions into which the schools

are distributed. They separately attend two different schools in the morning and two in the evening, staying at least one hour at each school, during which time they explain to the teachers any parts of the lesson they do not fully comprehend, and examine such of the boys as they think proper in their different acquirements. The destinations of the pandits and sircars are frequently changed, and each of them keeps a register containing the day of the month ; the time of going to, and leaving, each school ; the names of the boys examined ; the page and place of the book in which they were examined ; and the names of the schoolmasters in their own handwriting—which registers are submitted to the Secretaries of the Society every week through the Head Pandit. Further examinations, both public and private, yearly, half-yearly, or quarterly, as necessity or convenience dictated, have been held in the presence of respectable European and Native gentlemen, when gratuities were given to deserving teachers, and prize-books to the best scholars, as well as books bestowed for the current year at schools.”

Its Work officially recognized.

In 1823 the Government expressed its appreciation of the work being done by the Calcutta School Society by giving it a monthly grant of Rs. 500 towards its expenditure upon the schools under its influence. In 1825 the Court of Directors confirmed the grant, and in doing so, wrote as follows :—“ The Calcutta School Society appears to combine with its arrangements for giving elementary instruction, an arrangement of still greater importance for educating teachers for the indigenous schools. The last object we deem worthy of great encouragement, since it is upon the character of the indigenous schools that the education of the great mass of the population must ultimately depend. By training up, therefore, a class of teachers you provide for the eventual extension of improved education to a portion of the Natives of India far exceeding that which any elementary instruction that could be

immediately bestowed, would have had any chance of reaching.”*

More Schools opened by Missionary Societies.

As has been said, the Calcutta School Society was inaugurated in 1818. In giving a connected account of its activities it has been necessary to bring the narrative of events up to the year 1825. Let us resume the thread of events as in the year 1819. In that year the London Missionary Society established some vernacular schools in the neighbourhood of Tollygunge and Kidderpore—the well-known suburbs of modern Calcutta. Again, in 1821 Miss Cook (better known as Mrs. Wilson) opened, in connection with the Church Missionary Society, girls' schools, which in 1822 numbered 22 with a roll of 400 pupils.

“The Circle System.”

In the year 1822 the Christian Knowledge Society initiated the system, familiar in later years as the “Circle System.” It had three Circles—one at Tollygunge, another at Cossipore, and a third at Howrah. Each Circle contained five ancillary schools attached, so to speak, to one central school. There was a guru to each school, while the Circle Pandit and the Superintending Missionary visited the schools in rotation. Each school cost Rs. 15 a month, and the guru was paid according to the number of his pupils and their proficiency in the first four classes. In addition to the usual subjects, Scripture, Grammar, Geography and Natural Philosophy were taught.

Non-indigenous Schools.

It should perhaps be noted in passing that in the literature of the day Mission Schools and schools established by the Calcutta School Society are commonly designated “elementary schools non-indigenous.” The reason for the differentiation probably was that, though they were elementary schools, the course of instruction in them marked

*In 1833 the income of the Society fell, and from that year it discontinued the examinations which it had hitherto held in the elementary schools under its superintendence.

an advance upon the true indigenous schools—the characteristic feature in them being that in them were used printed books.

General Committee of Public Instruction appointed.

It will be remembered that the terms in which the Charter of the East India Company had been renewed in 1813 rendered it impossible for vernacular elementary education to receive direct encouragement. Still, in the following ten years something had been done, both by Government and by benevolent societies, to advance the interests of mass education. In assigning an annual sum of one lakh of rupees for the promotion of the study of Oriental Classical Languages, the Charter of 1813 had directed the Government of India to take early measures to acquaint themselves with the existing state of popular education and to report to the Honourable Court of Directors the results of their enquiries. The stress of wars had hitherto compelled the Governor-General to neglect this mandate. But with the return of peace at the conclusion of the Fourth Maratha War in 1823 it was not forgotten, and the acting Governor-General, Mr. Adam, appointed a General Committee of Public Instruction “for the purpose of ascertaining the state of public education, and of the public institutions designed for its promotion, and of considering and from time to time submitting to Government the suggestion of such measures as it may appear expedient to adopt with a view to the better instruction of the people; to the introduction of useful knowledge including the sciences and arts of Europe; and to improve their moral character.” The Committee consisted of about half-a-dozen members, most of whom were Europeans connected with the Public Services. The General Committee were assisted by Local Committees disposed at various mofussil centres, and they in some instances were composed of a few respectable and educated native gentlemen and the principal officers of the local Government. These Local

Committees superintended the provincial institutions, but were subject to the control of the General Committee.

Scope of the General Committee's Labours.

The principles which guided the proceedings of the General Committee throughout the period of their responsibility are set forth in the following extract from their annual report of December 1831 :—

“The introduction of useful knowledge is the great object which they have proposed as the end of the measures adopted or recommended by them, keeping in view the necessity of consulting the feelings and conciliating the confidence of those for whose advantage their measures are designed.

“The Committee has, therefore, continued to encourage the acquirement of the native literature of both the Muhammadans and the Hindus in the institutions which they found established for these purposes, the Madrasah of Calcutta and the Sanskrit College of Benares. They have also endeavoured to promote the activity of similar establishments, of which local considerations dictated the formation, as the Sanskrit College of Calcutta and the Colleges of Agra and Delhi, as it is to such alone, even in the present day, that the influential and learned classes, —those who are by birthright professional teachers and expounders of literature, law, and religion, Maulvis and Pandits—willingly resort.

“In the absence of their natural patrons, the rich and powerful of their own creeds, the Committee have felt it incumbent on them to contribute to the support of the learned classes of India by literary endowments, which provide not only directly for a certain number, but indirectly for many more, who derive from collegiate acquirements consideration and subsistence amongst their countrymen. As far also as Muhammadan and Hindu law are concerned, an avenue is thus opened for them to public employment, and the State is provided with a supply of able servants and valuable subjects ; for there is no

doubt that, imperfect as oriental learning may be in many respects, yet the higher degree of attainments even in it possessed by any native, the more intelligent and liberal will he prove, and better able to appreciate the acts and designs of the Government.

“But whilst every reasonable encouragement is given to indigenous native education, no opportunity has been omitted by the Committee of improving its quality and adding to its value

“Again, the improvements effected have not been limited to a reformation in the course and scope of native study, but, whenever opportunity has favoured, new and better instruction has been grafted upon the original plan Whilst giving liberal encouragement to purely native education, the principle of connecting it with the introduction of real knowledge has never been lost sight of, and the foundation has been laid of great and beneficial change in the minds of those who by their character and profession direct and influence the intellect of Hindustan.

“In addition to the measures adopted for the diffusion of English education in the Provinces, and which are yet only in their infancy, the encouragement of the Vidyalaya or Hindu College of Calcutta,* has always been one of the chief objects of the Committee’s attention. The consequence has surpassed expectation. A command of the English language and a familiarity with its literature and science have been acquired to an extent rarely equalled by any schools in Europe. A taste for English has been widely disseminated, and independent schools, conducted by young men reared in the Vidyalaya, are springing up in every direction.”

Work accomplished by the General Committee from 1823 to 1842.

From 1823 to 1842 the General Committee was the official organ of Government in all matters connected with education. It was consulted on, and its views were adopted

* Established in 1816 (and opened on 20th January 1817) by the voluntary contributions of wealthy Hindus for the education in English of children of superior castes,

in, all important questions affecting public instruction. It was the channel of official correspondence with individual institutions. It dealt with such subjects as the system of education best adapted to meet the actual needs of the country ; the preparation of text-books ; the establishment of new colleges and advanced schools ; the improvement and development of existing seminaries ; the course of studies appropriate to each institution ; the foundation of scholarships ; and the introduction of tuition fees. It exercised a close supervision over each college and school, with a view to ascertaining its state of proficiency, and the character and competency of the masters—remedying defects, and stimulating the zeal of the several Local Committees. Its President and Members assisted in conducting the terminal and final examinations of the Presidency Institutions, which were under their immediate control and management.

Local Committees.

Schools in the mofussil were superintended by Local Committees composed of the Judge, the Collector, the Magistrate, the Civil Surgeon, the Principal Sudder Ameen and a few influential and enlightened natives. They were expected to take an active interest in the schools committed to them, and in the promotion of education in the whole district. The several members were required to visit the schools frequently ; to assist at the public examinations ; and to submit to the General Committee an Annual Report on the year's operations. Local Committees were not competent to address any communications direct to Government. All their correspondence was with the General Committee.

Local Committees not a Success.

The usual attitude of the Local Committees to their duties was one of apathy. Neither praise nor blame succeeded in stimulating them to exertion. Towards the close of 1840 their indifference was so conspicuous that in January 1841 the following order was issued :—“ The

Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council having reason to believe that the members of the Local Committees of education do not in all instances perform their duties of superintendence with the requisite regularity and care, deems it proper to call their attention to the great importance which is attached by the Government to the zealous execution of those duties, and to require them to visit at least once in each month, in due rotation, the educational institutions with which they may be connected, and to attend and assist at all examinations when they may be present at their respective stations." Kerr makes the following comment on this mandate :—"The order was formal in every respect and was clear and definite in its aim. It had only one fault—it was not acted upon." The result of the continued indifference of Local Committees was the conviction that it was hopeless to prolong the struggle with them any longer, and that an Inspector of Schools must be appointed by the Government. An Inspector of Schools was appointed in 1844, but Local Committees were not abolished.

The Orientalists vs. the Anglicists.

In giving a connected account of the General Committee and its subsidiary Local Committees it has been necessary to disregard other concurrent events which were fraught with momentous results. As has been narrated, the General Committee of Public Instruction was constituted in 1823, among other things, to attend to "the introduction of useful knowledge including the sciences and arts of Europe." From the very outset many members of the Committee had grave doubts that this instruction to them could be reconciled with the Despatch of 1814 in which the Court of Directors had explicitly stated that the sciences to be taught were the oriental sciences "the systems of ethics contained in the Sanskrit language." Divergence of opinion led to acrimony of debate. Soon there were two parties attempting to co-operate while estranged by irreconcilable convictions as to the principles

on which Government support to education should be extended. Half the Committee, called the Orientalists, were for the continuation of the old system of stipends tenable for 12 or 15 years to students of Sanskrit or Arabic, and of a liberal expenditure of money on the publication of books in those languages. The other half, known as the Anglicists, desired to waste no more money on lazy and stupid "schoolboys" of 30 and 35 years of age, or on the printing of Sanskrit and Arabic books which no one wanted or bought.

The Court of Directors support the Anglicists.

In their letter to the Governor-General, dated the 29th September 1830, the Court of Directors wrote:—
 "There is no point of view in which we look with greater interest at the exertions you are now making for the instruction of the natives, than as being calculated to raise up a class of persons qualified, by their intelligence and morality, for high employment in the civil administration of India. As the means of bringing about this most desirable object, we rely chiefly on their becoming, through a familiarity with European Literature and Science, imbued with the ideas and feelings of civilized Europe, on the general cultivation of their understandings, and specifically on their instruction in the principles of morals and general jurisprudence. We wish you to consider this as our deliberate view of the scope and end to which all your endeavours with respect to the education of the natives should refer."

Lord Macaulay's Minute in favour of the Anglicists.

This authoritative declaration in favour of an English education for the natives might have been expected to reconcile the Orientalists to the expenditure of money upon English schools. But no; the contentions in the General Committee waxed hotter, till in 1834, its operations were brought to a standstill. So evenly were the two parties balanced that nothing could be carried by vote. At the close of 1834 arrived Lord Macaulay, who had been the

ablest supporter of the India Bill while it was being debated in the House of Commons. In the following year he was appointed to be President of the General Committee, and he forthwith became the leader of the Anglicists—Messrs. Bird, Saunders, Bushby, Trevelyan and J. R. Colvin. Opposed to them were the Orientalists—the Hon'ble H. Shakespear, Messrs. H. Thoby Princep, James Princep, W. H. Macnaghten and T. C. C. Sutherland (Secretary to the Committee). Lord Macaulay declined to take an active part in the proceedings of the Committee until the decision of the Supreme Government had been given on the main question at issue. Both parties addressed the Government, and argued their points with all the force of conviction. Their letters came before Lord Macaulay in his capacity of Legal Member of the Supreme Council, and then it was that he penned his masterful and brilliant Minute of the 2nd February 1835.

*Lord William Bentinck's Resolution of 1835
completes the triumph of the Anglicists.*

Lord William Bentinck was confirmed in his own views, and in his Resolution of the 7th March 1835, he gave his verdict in favour of the Anglicists :—

RESOLUTION.—“The Governor-General of India in Council has attentively considered the two letters from the Secretary to the General Committee of Public Instruction, dated 21st and 22nd January last, and the papers referred to in them.

“His Lordship in Council is of opinion that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European Literature and Science amongst the natives of India, and that all the funds appropriated for the purposes of education would be best employed on English education alone.

“It is not the intention of His Lordship in Council to abolish any college or school of native learning, while the native population shall appear to be inclined to avail themselves of the advantages which it affords ; and his Lordship

in Council directs that all the existing professors and students at all the institutions under the superintendence of the Committee shall continue to receive their stipends. But His Lordship in Council decidedly objects to the practice which has hitherto prevailed, of supporting students during the period of their education. He conceives that the only effect of such a system can be to give artificial encouragement to branches of learning which, in the natural course of things, would be superseded by more useful studies; and he directs that no stipend shall be given to any student who may hereafter enter at any of these institutions, and that when any professor of oriental learning shall vacate his situation, the Committee shall report to the Government the number and state of the class, in order that the Government may be able to decide upon the expediency of appointing a successor.

“It has come to the knowledge of the Governor-General in Council that a large sum has been expended by the Committee in the printing of oriental works. His Lordship in Council directs that no portion of the funds shall hereafter be so employed.

“His Lordship in Council directs that all the funds which these reforms will leave at the disposal of the Committee be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English Literature and Science, through the medium of the English language; and His Lordship in Council requests the Committee to submit to Government with all expedition a plan for the accomplishment of this purpose.”

Zilla Schools established.

In giving effect to the instructions conveyed in the above Resolution, Zilla Schools, in which English and the local vernacular were taught, were established at the headquarters of half the districts in Bengal, with the intention of opening others in the remaining half. The average cost of each school was Rs. 250 a month. The scheme was that these zilla schools should form the basis of whatever system

of popular education might eventually be introduced. The next step in contemplation was to extend these schools from the town to the country—from the influential few to the masses of the people.

The Doctrine of Filtration.

The whole outlook is briefly described by Trevelyan in his "Education in India" (1838):—"Materials of a national system must be prepared in the zilla seminaries before they can be employed in the organization of the pargana and village schools. The youth of the upper and middle classes, both in the town and country, will receive such an education at the head station of the zilla as will make them willing and intelligent auxiliaries to us hereafter, in extending the same advantages to the rest of their countrymen.*

The Place of the Zilla School in the Scheme for General Education.

"The zilla seminaries will be the normal schools, in which new sets of village schoolmasters may be trained, and to which many of the existing schoolmasters will be induced to resort to obtain new lights in their profession. The books and plans of instruction which have been tried and found to answer in the zilla seminaries, will be introduced into the pargana and village schools. In short, the means of every description for establishing a system of national instruction, will be accumulated at the central points; and our future operations are likely to be unembarrassed and efficacious in proportion as this foundation is well and securely laid. We have at present only to do with outlines, but they should be drawn with strict reference to the details which will hereafter have to be filled in."

The Forces behind the Educational Reforms in India.

The creed of the Anglicists, the Minute of Macaulay and the Resolution of Bentinck came not by accident. In Great Britain, Cowper, Crabbe, Blake and Burns had invested the lives of the poor with nobility and interest.

* This "Doctrine of Filtration" was destined to disappoint those who put their trust in it.

Wordsworth had preached the fuller gospel of God and Nature and Man. The public schools of England had come under the quickening influence of Arnold of Rugby. Home legislation had been ameliorating the condition of the lower and middle classes of society. The Reform Bill of 1832 had placed political power in the hands of the enlightened middle classes. In 1833, during the administration of Earl Grey, slavery had been abolished in the colonies at a cost to the nation of twenty millions. In 1834 a system of national education had been initiated by a Parliamentary grant towards the erection of schools, and the growing evil of pauperism had been checked by the enactment of the New Poor Law. In 1835 the Municipal Corporations Act had restored to the inhabitants of towns those rights of self-government of which they had been deprived since the fourteenth century. Lord Bentinck and his colleagues were under the spell of the hour. What more natural than that they should find in the progressive movements in the homeland the impulses of their dealings with the peoples of India? In India itself the times were propitious to administrative and domestic reforms. Wars had ceased. With the return of peace it was possible to give attention to internal affairs. Accordingly sati, infanticide and human sacrifice were proscribed. The thugs were exterminated. The people's vernacular supplanted Persian as the court language. Slavery was abolished. Freedom of the press was advocated. Indians of capacity and education were admitted to the higher appointments in the Executive and Judicial Services. It was therefore necessary that what funds were available should be expended upon the education of the many in English, and not upon the education of the few in Sanskrit and Arabic. But Bentinck did not stop here. He was anxious to improve the lot of the masses. He recollected that the Committee of Public Instruction had been charged to advise the Government what measures should be adopted for the spread of education among the people. This had

not yet been done. It was, therefore, still requisite that a survey should be made of the condition of indigenous education; and the Rev. W. Adam was deputed to make the survey.

CHAPTER II.

Mr. Adam's Survey of Indigenous Elementary Education, 1835 to 1838.

The Rev. W. Adam came to India as a Missionary in 1818. After a while his religious convictions underwent a change. He became an Unitarian, and in consequence severed connection with the Missionary Society in whose service he had come out, and began to conduct the *India Gazette*, a popular Calcutta Journal. A man of quick sympathies, he early got into touch with native sentiments and aspirations. He was convinced that the expenditure of public money on Sanskrit and Arabic literature and schools was a mistake so long as the great masses were eager for education in the vernaculars. In 1829 he made bold to address to Lord William Bentinck a memorandum on the subject of popular education, and in it he submitted that "an educational survey of the country was an indispensable preliminary to every educational or other measure."

Mr. Adam appointed Special Commissioner to survey the State of Education in Bengal.

The Governor-General, already deeply interested in the education of the lower classes of Indian society, determined upon employing Mr. Adam himself to make the survey he had advocated. Accordingly, in 1835, Mr. Adam was appointed Special Commissioner for the Survey of the State of Education in Bengal, he being, as Lord Bentinck said, "an individual peculiarly qualified for this undertaking. . . . With considerable ability, he possesses great industry and a high character for integrity. His knowledge of the languages, and his habits of intercourse with the natives give him peculiar advantages for such

an enquiry." He was granted a consolidated allowance of Rs. 1,000 a month for all his expenses, excluding the cost of travelling, for which he was to submit bills for the actual charges incurred under that head. His instructions were to present his reports to the General Committee of Public Instruction, who advised him that "the information obtained should be complete as far as it goes, clear and specific in its details, and depending upon actual observation or undoubted authority, rather than that you should hurry over a large space in a short time to be able to give only a crude and imperfect account of the state of education within that space. With a view to ultimate measures, it is just as necessary to know the extent of the ignorance that prevails where education is wholly or almost wholly neglected, as to know the extent of the acquirements made where some attention is paid to it."

Mr. Adam's Plan of Operation in Towns.

Mr. Adam thus outlined his plan of operation according as he was surveying the state of education in towns or in villages:—"Taking up my residence in one of the towns or seats of learning, I would, with the aid of my Pandit and Maulvi and by friendly communication with the responsible inhabitants and learned men of the place, make an enumeration or list of the various institutions for the promotion of education; classify them according to the denominations of which they may consist, whether Hindus, Muhammadans, or Christians: public, private, and charitable; examine each institution of each class with the consent of the parties concerned, and make a memorandum on the spot of the number of pupils; the nature and the extent of the course of instruction in science and learning; the resources of the institution, whether public or private; if public, whether they appear to be efficiently and legitimately applied; the estimation in which the institution is held by the community to which it belongs, and the possibility or means of raising the character and enlarging the usefulness of any single institution

or of a whole class. Having exhausted the institutions of one class, I would proceed to another, and from that to a third, repeating the same process in each, until I had obtained a complete knowledge of the state of education in the whole town and neighbourhood. The memoranda thus taken down on the spot and at the instant, the fruits of my personal knowledge and direct observation, would supply the materials from which a full and methodical report would be furnished to Government.

Mr. Adam's Plan of Operation in Villages.

“A somewhat different mode must be employed in investigating the state of education in a district where common schools and schools of learning are indiscriminately scattered over a large surface. In that case, fixing my principal residence at the head station of the zilla, I would diverge from it in all directions to the extreme bounds of the district, passing one, two, three or more days at one place, according as objects of investigation of the kind connected with the immediate duty presented themselves, and entering freely into communication with parents, teachers and pandits on that subject, examining schools both common and learned, and, as in the former case, making my memoranda at the time for future guidance in preparing the report. After having completed the range of one district I would proceed to another, until I had in this manner gone over the whole country assigned to my investigation.” During the years 1835, 1836, 1837 and part of 1838, Mr. Adam made an educational survey of Midnapore, Orissa, Hooghly, Burdwan, Jessore, Nadia, Dacca, Bakarganj, Chittagong, Tippera, Mymensingh, Sylhet, Murshidabad, Birbhum, the 24-Parganas, Rajshahi, Rungpur, Dinajpur, Purnia, Tirhoot, South Bihar and of the towns of Calcutta, Chinsurah, Dacca, Burdwan and Murshidabad.

Points of Enquiry.

Mr. Adam focussed his enquiry into the state of education upon the following points :—(1) The state of school

instruction ; (2) the state of domestic instruction ; (3) the state of adult education, i.e., of persons above the age of 14 years.

Classes of Schools Surveyed.

He recognized (a) elementary indigenous schools ; (b) elementary schools not indigenous, and (c) indigenous schools of learning. By "elementary indigenous schools" he meant "those schools in which instruction in the elements of knowledge is communicated, and which have been originated and are supported by the natives themselves." Among "elementary schools not indigenous" he included those schools which had been established, and were being supported by planters or religious and philanthropic societies, and in which indigenous methods of teaching had been improved upon by the adaptation in them of European methods and means. The "indigenous schools of learning" were of course Sanskrit Tols, Persian Schools and Arabic Madrassahs. He subdivided indigenous schools into "communal schools," i.e., schools in the accepted sense of the word, and "domestic schools," i.e., schools conducted by a private tutor for the benefit of the children of an individual family.

"Forms" used to tabulate Information collected.

Mr. Adam devised certain "forms" for the convenient tabulation of the information he gathered regarding the several types of schools—one "form" for Bengali or Hindi schools, another for Sanskrit schools, a third for Persian or Arabic schools, and so on, each taking note (with appropriate modifications) of the following details :—
 "(1) Name of the town or village in which the school is situated ; (2) description of the place employed as a school-house ; (3) name, religion, caste and age of the teacher ; (4) the sources of his receipts ; (5) the extent of his instruction ; (6) the number of scholars present and absent, their religion and caste ; (7) the age at which each entered school, his present age, the probable age at which he would leave school ; (8) the progress he had made in

the course of instruction ; (9) the books, if any, read in the school, and the works, if any, written by the teacher."

To ascertain the condition of "domestic instruction" another "form" was prepared providing for the following details:—(1) The number of families in each town or village ; (2) the name, religion, caste and principal occupation and the habit of each family ; (3) the number of persons in each family, male and female, above 14 years of age ; (4) the number, male and female, between 14 and 5, and the number, male and female, below 5 ; (5) the number of families in each town or village giving domestic instruction to their children, and the number of children in each family receiving domestic instruction ; (6) the number of persons of adult age in each family who had received a learned education ; and knew something more than mere reading and writing—whether Bengali, Hindi, Persian or English, or any two or more of these ; (7) the number who could merely read and write, and the number who could barely decipher or write their own names.

Mr. Adam experiences Difficulties.

The best laid out plans may go awry. Mr. Adam tells us of his difficulties. "Having prepared the necessary 'forms' my first purpose was to visit every village in person, and ascertain its exact condition by actual inspection and enquiry in direct communication with the inhabitants. This course I found liable to several objections. The sudden appearance of a European in a village ever inspires terror, which it is always difficult, and sometimes impossible, to subdue. The most influential, or the best informed, inhabitant was sometimes absent, and it required much labour to enable others to comprehend the object of my visit. Under the most favourable circumstances the time consumed in explanations for the satisfaction of the villagers, caused such delays as would have ultimately constituted a serious obstacle to the efficiency and economy of the investigation."

Mr. Adam uses Waqifkars.

In these circumstances Mr. Adam employed Waqifkars, or agents of intelligence, “whom I send beforehand into the surrounding villages to explain to the inhabitants the nature and objects of my enquiry, and thus to prepare them for my arrival. These agents were furnished with written ‘forms’ which were fully explained to them, and which they were required in like manner to explain to those to whom they were sent. The effect of this arrangement was good, for I often found the inhabitants fully prepared to understand my object, and to give me the information I sought.” After his Pandit and Maulvi had been under his supervision for several months, they became still more helpful, for Mr. Adam, with a view to expediting the conclusion of his investigations, let them collect the information needed by him.

Courses of Studies in Indigenous Elementary Schools.

In his Report of 1835 Mr. Adam gives the following account of the courses of studies in the indigenous elementary schools of Rajshahi—schools which in no way differed from their fellows in other parts of Bengal:—“Not only are printed books not used in these schools, but even manuscript books are unknown. All that the scholars learn is from the oral dictation of the master; and although what is so communicated must have a firm seat in the memory of the teacher, and will probably find an equally firm seat in the memory of the scholar, yet instruction conveyed solely by such means must have very limited scope. The principal writing composition which they learn in this way is the *Saraswati Bandana*,* or Salutation to the Goddess of Learning, which is committed to memory

সরস্বতী বন্দনা।

রাগিনী—ভৈরবী।

যা কুন্দের তুমারহারধবনা যা খেতপদ্মসনা,
যা বীণা বরদগুমণ্ডিত করা যা শ্রবণস্বাস্থতা,
যা ব্রহ্মচ্যুতশঙ্করপ্রভৃতিভির্দেবৈঃ সদা বন্দিতা
সং মাং পাছু সরস্বতী ভগবতী নিঃশেষ জাড্যাপহা।

by frequent repetitions, and is daily recited by the scholars in a body before they leave school—all kneeling with their heads bent to the ground, and following a leader or monitor in the pronunciation of the successive lines or couplets . . . The only other written composition used in these schools, and that only in the way of oral dictation by the master, consists of a few of the rhyming Arithmetical Rules of Subhankar, a writer whose name is as familiar in Bengal as that of Cocker in England, without any one knowing who or what he was, or when he lived.

Stages of Instruction.

“There are four different stages in the course of Bengali instruction. The *first* period seldom exceeds ten days, which are employed in teaching the young scholars to form the letters of the alphabet on the ground with a small stick or slip of bamboo. The sand-board is not used in this district (Rajshahi), probably to save expense. The *second* period, extending from two-and-a-half to four years, is distinguished by the use of the palm leaf as a material on which writing is performed. Hitherto the mere form and sound of the letters have been taught without regard to their size and relative proportion; but the master with an iron style now writes on the palm leaf letters of a determinate size and in due proportion to one another, and the scholar is required to trace them on the same leaf with a reed pen and with charcoal-ink which easily rubs out. This process is repeated over and over again on the same leaf until the scholar no longer requires the use of the copy to guide him in the formation of the letters of a fit size and proportion, and he is consequently next made to write them on another leaf which has no copy to direct him. He is afterwards exercised in writing and pronouncing compound consonants, the syllables formed by the conjunction of vowels with consonants, and the most common names of persons. In other parts of the country, the names of castes, rivers, mountains, etc., are written as well as the names of persons; but here (Rajshahi) the

names of persons only are employed as a school exercise. The scholar is then taught to read and write, and by frequent repetition he commits to memory the Cowrie Table, the Numeration Table as far as 100, the Katha Table (a Land Measure Table), the Ser Table (a Dry Measure). There are other tables in use elsewhere which are not taught in the schools of this district (Rajshahi). The *third* stage of instruction extends from two to three years, which are employed in writing on the plantain leaf. In some districts the tables just mentioned are postponed to this stage, but in this district (Rajshahi) they are included in the exercises of the second stage. The first exercise taught on the plantain leaf is to initiate the scholar in the simplest forms of letter-writing, to instruct him to connect words in composition with one another, and to distinguish the written from the spoken forms of Bengali vocables. The written forms are often abbreviated in speech by the omission of a vowel or a consonant, or by the running of two syllables into one; and the scholar is taught to use in writing the full and not the abbreviated forms About the same time, the scholar is taught the rules of arithmetic, beginning with addition and subtraction, but multiplication and division are not taught as separate rules—all the arithmetical processes hereafter mentioned being effected by addition and subtraction with the aid of a multiplication table which extends to the number 20, and which is repeated aloud by the whole school once every morning, and is thus acquired, not as a separate task by each boy, but by the force of joint repetition and mutual imitation. After addition and subtraction the arithmetical rules divide themselves into two classes, agricultural and commercial, in one or both of which instruction is given more or less fully according to the capacity of the teacher and the wishes of the parents. The rules applied to agricultural accounts explain the forms of keeping debit and credit accounts; the calculation of the value of daily or monthly labour at a given monthly or annual rate; the calculation

of the area of land whose sides measure a given number of kathas or bighas ; the description of the boundaries of land and the determination of its length, breadth and contents ; the form of revenue accounts for a given quantity of land. There are numerous other forms of agricultural accounts, but no others appear to be taught in the schools of this district (Rajshahi). The rules of commercial accounts explain the mode of calculating the value of a given number of seers at a given price per maund ; the price of a given number of quarters and chitaks at a given price per seer ; the price of a tola at a given rate per chitak ; the number of cowries in a given number of annas at a given number of cowries per rupee ; the interest of money ; and the discount chargeable on the exchange of the inferior sort of rupees. There are other forms of commercial accounts, but they are not taught in the schools. "The *fourth* and last stage of instruction generally includes a period of two years—often less, seldom more. The accounts briefly and superficially taught in the preceding stage are now taught more thoroughly and at greater length, and this is accompanied by the composition of business letters, petitions, grants, leases, notes of hand, etc., together with the forms of address belonging to the different grades of rank and station. When the scholars have written upon paper for about one year, they are considered qualified to engage in the unassisted perusal of Bengali works, and they often read at home such productions as the translations of the *Ramayana Manasa Mangal*, etc."

"This sketch of a course of Bengali instruction," Mr. Adam continues, "must be regarded rather as what is intended to be than what is, for most of the schoolmasters whom I have seen, as far as I could judge from necessarily brief and limited opportunities of observation, were unqualified to give all the instruction here described, although I have thus placed on record the amount of their pretensions. All, however, do not pretend to teach the whole of what is enumerated here, some professing to limit

themselves to agricultural, and others to include, commercial accounts. Most of them appear to have a very superficial acquaintance with both."

"With the exception of the multiplication table, the rhyming arithmetical rules of Subhankar, and the form of address to Saraswati, all which the younger scholars learn by the mere imitation of sounds incessantly repeated by the elder boys without for a long time understanding what those sounds convey—with these exceptions the native schoolboys learn everything that they do learn, not merely by reading it, but by writing it. They read to the master or to one of the elder scholars what they have previously written, and thus the hand, the eye, and the ear are equally called into requisition It is almost unnecessary to add that the use of monitors or elders has long prevailed in the common schools of India, and is well known in those of Bengal."

Teachers of Indigenous Elementary Schools.

In respect of teachers this is what Mr. Adam relates :—
 "The teachers consist both of young and middle-aged men—for the most part simple-minded but poor and ignorant, and therefore, having recourse to an occupation which is suitable both to their expectations and attainments, and on which they reflect as little honour as they derive emolument from it ; they do not understand the importance of the task they have undertaken ; they do not appear to have made it even a subject of thought ; they do not appreciate the great influence which they might exert over the minds of their pupils ; and they consequently neglect the highest duties which their situation would impose, if they were better acquainted with their powers and obligations. At present they produce chiefly a mechanical effect upon the intellect of their pupils which is worked upon and chiselled out, and that in a very rough style, but which remains nearly passive in their hands, and is seldom taught or encouraged to put forward its self-acting and self-judging capacities. As to any moral influence of teachers over pupils—any

attempt to form the sentiments and habits, and to control and guide the passions and emotions—such a notion never enters their conceptions, and the formation of the moral character of the young is consequently wholly left to the influence of the casual associations amidst which they are placed, without any endeavour to modify or direct them.”

The Remuneration of Elementary School Teachers. Scaling of Fees.

“The remuneration of teachers,” Mr. Adam goes on to say, “is derived from various sources. Two teachers have their salaries wholly, and another receives his in part, from the benevolent individuals who appear to be influenced only by philanthropic motives ; a fourth is remunerated solely in the form of fees ; and the remaining six are paid partly by fees and partly by perquisites. There are in general four stages in the course of instruction indicated by the nature of the materials employed for writing on, namely, the ground, the palm leaf, the plantain leaf and paper ; and at the commencement of each stage after the first a higher fee is charged. In one instance the first and second stages are merged into one ; in another instance the same fee is charged for the third and fourth ; and in a third, the first, second and third stages are equally charged. But the rule I have stated is observed in a majority of cases, and partially even in those exceptions. Another mode, adopted in two instances, of regulating the fees is according to the means of the parents whose children are instructed ; a half or a third, or a fourth less being charged to the children of poor than to the children of rich parents in the successive stages of instruction. The perquisites of teachers vary from 4 annas to 5 rupees a month—in the former case consisting of a piece of cloth, or other occasional voluntary gift from the parents ; and in the latter, or in similar cases, of food alone, or of food, washing and all personal expenses, together with occasional presents. Those who receive food as a perquisite either live in the house of one of the principal supporters of the school, or visit the houses of different parents by

turns at meal-time. The total income of the teachers from fixed salaries and fluctuating fees and perquisites varies from Rs. 3-8-0 to Rs. 7-8-0 per month, the average being rather more than Rs. 5 a month." *

How poor Communities combined to support a School.

"The school at Dharail affords a good specimen of the mode in which a small native community unite to support the school. At that place there are four families of Chaudhuries, the principal persons in the village ; but they are not so wealthy as to be able to support a teacher for their children without the co-operation of others. They give the teacher an apartment of their house in which his scholars may meet, one of the outer apartments of their house in which business is sometimes transacted, and at other times worship performed or strangers entertained. One of those families further pays four annas a month, the second an equal sum, the third eight annas, and the fourth twelve annas, which include the whole of their disbursements on this account,—no presents or perquisites of any kind being received from them,—and for the sums mentioned their five children receive Bengali education. The amount thus obtained, however, is not sufficient for the support of the teacher, and he, therefore, receives other scholars belonging to other families—of whom one gives one anna, another gives three annas, and five give four annas a month, to which they add voluntary presents amounting per month to about four annas, and consisting of vegetables, rice, fish, and occasionally a piece of cloth, such as a handkerchief, or an upper or a lower garment. Five boys of Kagbariya, the children of two families, attend the Dharail school, the distance being about a mile, which in the rainy season can be traversed only by water. Of the five, two belonging to one family, give together two annas, and three others,

* Mr. Adam concludes with the comment :—"Any measures that may be adopted to improve education in this country will be greatly inadequate if they are not directed to increase the attainments of the teachers and to elevate and extend their views of their duties."

belonging to the other family, give together four annas a month, and thus the whole income of the master is made up. This case shows by what pinched and stinted contributions the class just below the wealthy and the class just above the indigent unite to support a school; and it constitutes a proof of the very limited means of those who are anxious to give a Bengali education to their children, and of the sacrifices which they make to accomplish that object."

Remuneration of Teachers compared with that of their Social Equals in other walks of Life.

In view of the exceedingly small incomes upon which he found teachers obliged to exist, Mr. Adam instituted a comparison between the salaries earned by teachers and their social equals in other vocations. To quote him:—"I have spoken of the emoluments of teachers as low, not in comparison with their qualifications, or with the general rates of similar labour in the district, but with those emoluments to which competent men might be justly considered entitled. The humble character of the men, and the humble character of the service they render may be judged from the fact already stated, that some of them go about from house to house to receive their daily food. All, however, should not be estimated by this standard; and perhaps a generally correct opinion of their relative position in society may be formed by comparing them with those persons who have nearly similar duties to perform in other occupations in life, or whose duties the teachers of the common schools could probably in most instances perform if they were called upon to do so. Such, for example, are the *Patwari*, the *Amein*, the *Shumarnavis*, the *Khamarnavis* employed on native states. The *Patwari*, who goes from house to house collecting the *Zemindar's* rents, gets from his employer a salary of Rs. 2-8 or Rs. 3 a month, to which may be added numerous presents from the ryots on the first production of the season, amounting to probably 8 annas

a month. The *Amein*, who on behalf of the Zemindar decides the disputes that take place among the villagers and measures their lands, gets from Rs. 3-8-0 to Rs. 4 a month. The *Shumarnavis*, who keeps the accounts of the collection of rents by the different *Patwaris*, receives about Rs. 5 a month. And the *Khamarnavis*, who is employed to ascertain the state and value of the crops on which the Zemindar has claims in kind, receives the same allowance. Persons bearing these designations, and discharging these duties, sometimes receive higher salaries; but the cases I have supposed are those with which that of the common native schoolmaster must be considered as on a level, he being supposed capable of undertaking their duties, and they of undertaking his. The holders of these offices on a native estate have opportunities of making unauthorized gains, and they enjoy a responsibility and influence which the native schoolmaster does not possess; but in other respects they are nearly on an equality; and to compensate for those disadvantages, the salary of the common schoolmaster is in general rather higher—none of those whom I have met in Nattore receiving in all less than Rs. 3-8-0, and some receiving as high as Rs. 7-8-0 a month.”

School-houses.

Mr. Adam tells us “there are no school-houses built for, and exclusively appropriated to, these schools. The apartments or buildings in which the scholars assemble would have been erected, and would continue to be applied to other purposes, if there were no schools. Some meet in the *Chandi Mandap*, which is of the nature of a chapel belonging to some one of the principal families of the village, and in which, besides the performances of religious worship on occasion of the great annual festivals, strangers also are sometimes lodged and entertained, and business transacted. Others meet in the *Baitakhana*, an open hut principally intended as a place of recreation and of discourse for the consideration of matters relating to the

general interests of the village. Others meet in the private dwelling of the chief supporter of the school ; and others have no special place of meeting, unless it be the most vacant and protected spot in the neighbourhood of the master's abode." In the District of Murshidabad Mr. Adam found school-houses built at the expense of the teacher, or at the expense of a comparatively wealthy person whose son attended the school, or by subscriptions raised amongst the villagers, some of whom contributed in money, others in materials and others in personal labour. In the great majority of cases he found that there was no school-house, and that the children assembled in the house of the teacher, or in a family or village temple, or in an out-house of one of the parents, or in the hut assigned for the entertainment of travellers, or in the corner of a shop, or in the portico of a mosque, or under a shady tree. In Birbhum there was a school-house that had been built by the teacher at a cost in money of Rs. 1-4-0 with the aid of his pupils, who brought materials from the jungles. The house was thatched, and its walls consisted of branches and leaves of palm and sal trees interlaced.

Elementary Domestic Instruction.

In another part of his Report Mr. Adam narrates :—
“ In addition to the elementary instruction given in regular schools, there is a sort of traditionary knowledge of written language and accounts preserved in families from father to son and from generation to generation. This domestic elementary instruction is much more in use than scholastic elementary instruction, and yet it is not so highly valued as the latter. The reasons why the less esteemed form of elementary instruction is more common cannot in all cases be accurately ascertained. The inaptitude for combination for purposes of common interest, sometimes alleged against the natives, might be suggested ; but the truth is that they do often club together, sometimes to establish and support schools, and sometimes to defray the expenses of religious celebrations, dances and plays.

In those cases in which scholastic instruction would be preferred by parents, and I believe such cases to be numerous, poverty is the only reason that can be assigned ; and in other instances, as those of the Zemindar and the Brahmin Pandit, the pride of rank and station in the one case, and of birth and learning in the other, acting also upon circumscribed means may prevent the respective parties from looking beyond their own thresholds for the instruction which their children need. Inability to pay for school instruction I believe to be by far the most prevalent reason, and this is confirmed by the fact that in at least six villages which I visited, I was told that there had been recently Bengali schools which had been discontinued because the masters could not gain a livelihood, or because they found something more profitable to do elsewhere. . . . From all I could learn and observe, I am led to infer that in this District (Nattore) elementary instruction is on the decline, and has been for some time past decaying. The domestic instruction which many give to their children in elementary knowledge would seem to be an indication of the struggle which the ancient habits and the practical sense of the people are making against their present depressed circumstances."

The Classes of People who favour Domestic Elementary Education.

"The classes of society amongst which domestic elementary instruction is most prevalent deserve attention. Of the 1,588 families 1,277 are Hindus and 311 are Muhammadans ; and assuming the average of each class to be the same, namely $1\frac{1}{2}$ children in each family (as already estimated), then the number of Hindu children will be $1,915\frac{1}{2}$ and Muhammadan children $466\frac{1}{2}$, or in the proportion of 1,000 to 243. . . . The proportion of Musalman children receiving domestic instruction is rather less than 1 to 4. This disproportion is explained by the fact that a very large majority of the humblest grades of native society in this district (Nattore) are composed of Musalmans—such as cultivators, daily labourers, fishermen, etc., who are

regarded by themselves as well as by others both in respect of condition and capacity as quite beyond the reach of the simplest forms of literary instruction. You may as well talk to them of scaling the heavens as of instructing their children. In their present circumstances and with their present views, both would appear equally difficult and equally presumptuous. Those who give their children domestic instruction are zemindars, talukdars, and persons of some little substance ; shopkeepers and traders possessing some enterprise and forecast in their callings ; zemindar's agents or factors (*Gomashtas*), and heads of villages (*Mandals*) who know practically the advantage of writing and accounts ; and sometimes persons of straitened resources but respectable character, who had been in better circumstances, wished to give their children the means of making their way in the world ; Pandits, too, who intend that their children should pursue the study of Sanskrit, begin by introducing them at home to the rudiments of their mother tongue ; and Brahmins who have themselves gone through only a partial course of Sanskrit reading seek to qualify their children by such instruction as they can give for the office and duties of a family priest or spiritual guide."

Teachers of Domestic Schools

"It is not always the father who gives domestic instruction, but quite as often an uncle or an elder brother. In one village I found that the children of three families received instruction from a *Pujari Brahmin* under the following arrangement :—As the *Pujari* or family chaplain he receives one rupee per month with lodgings, food, clothing, etc., from one of the three families, the head of which stipulates that he shall employ his leisure time in instructing the children of that and the other two families. In some villages in which not a single individual could be found able either to read or write, I was notwithstanding assured that the children were not wholly without instruction ; and when I asked who taught them,

the answer was that the *Gomashta*, in his periodical visits for the collection of his master's rents, gives a few lessons to one or more of the children of the village."

Quality of the Instruction given in Domestic Schools.

"The instruction given in families is still more limited and imperfect than that which is given in the common schools. In some cases," continues Mr. Adam, "I found that it did not extend beyond the reading of the letters of the alphabet; in others the reading of words. Pandits and priests, unless when there is some landed property in the family, confine the Bengali instruction that they give their children, to writing and reading, addition and subtraction, with scarcely any of the applications of numbers to agricultural and commercial affairs. Farmers and traders naturally limit their instructions to what they know best, and what is to them and their children of greatest direct utility—the calculations and measurements peculiar to their immediate occupations. The parents with whom I have conversed on the subject do not attach the same value to the domestic instruction which their children receive, as they ascribe to the instruction of a professional schoolmaster, both because in their opinion such instruction would be more regular and systematic, and because the teacher would be better qualified." In summing up the condition of domestic instruction in all the districts of Bengal, Mr. Adam observes "there can be no doubt that the instruction given at home is in general more crude and imperfect, more interrupted and desultory than that which is obtained in the common schools."

Mr. Adam's Account of Female Education.

In respect to female education Mr. Adam found the conditions most deplorable. Speaking of the girls of the upper and lower social orders, he says:—"The state of instruction amongst this unfortunate class cannot be said to be low, for with a very few individual exceptions

there is no instruction at all.* Absolute and hopeless ignorance is in general their lot. The notion of providing means of instruction for female children never enters into the minds of their parents; and girls are equally deprived of that imperfect domestic instruction which is sometimes given to boys. A superstitious feeling is alleged to exist in the majority of Hindu families, principally cherished by the women and not discouraged by the men, that a girl taught to read and write will soon after marriage become a widow, an event which is regarded as nearly the worst misfortune that can befall the sex; and the belief is also generally entertained in native society that intrigue is facilitated by a knowledge of letters on the part of females. Under the influence of these fears there is not only nothing done in a native family to promote female instruction, but an anxiety is often evinced to discourage any inclination to acquire the most elementary knowledge, so that when a sister, in the playful innocence of childhood, is observed imitating her brother's attempts at penmanship she is strictly forbidden to do so, and her attention is drawn to something else. These superstitious and distrustful feelings prevail extensively, though not universally, both amongst Hindus who are devoted to the pursuit of religion and those who are engaged in the business of the world. Zemindars are for the most part exempt from them, and they in general instruct their daughters in the elements of knowledge, although it is difficult to obtain from them an admission of the fact. They hope to marry their daughters into families of wealth and property, and they apprehend that without the knowledge of writing accounts their

* It is believed that the first attempt in Bengal—possibly in all India—to instruct native girls in organized schools, was made by the Rev. Mr. May in 1818 in the neighbourhood of Chinsurah. His girls' schools, however, offered so little prospect of success, that they were within a short time discontinued by order of Government. In 1821 Miss Cook, better known as Mrs. Wilson, in connection with the Church Missionary Society, established female schools in Calcutta, which in 1822 numbered 22 and contained over 400 pupils. In 1823 the Serampore Missionaries started several girls' schools, and the movement gradually spread to the towns of Burdwan, Bankura, Katwa and Khulna.

daughters, in the event of widowhood, will be incompetent to manage their deceased husband's estate, and will inevitably become prey to the interested and unprincipled. The Muhammadans participate in all the prejudices of the Hindus against the instruction of their female offspring, besides that a very large majority of them are in the very lowest grades of poverty, and are thus unable, even if they are willing, to give education to their children. It may, therefore, be affirmed that the juvenile female population of this district (Nattore)—that is, the female population of the teachable age, or of the age between 14 and 5 years, without any known exceptions, and with so few probable exceptions that they can scarcely be taken into account, is growing up wholly destitute of the knowledge of reading and writing Exceptions to the general ignorance are found amongst the mendicant 'Vaishnavas' or followers of Chaitaniya, amounting in Nattore probably to 1,400 or 1,500 individuals, who are generally able to read and write, and who are also alleged to instruct their daughters in these accomplishments. They are the only religious body of whom, as a sect, the practice is characteristic. Yet it is a fact that, as a sect, they rank precisely the lowest in point of general morality, and especially in respect of the virtue of their women. It would be erroneous, however, to attribute the low state of their morality to the degree of instruction prevailing amongst them. It is obviously and solely attributable to the fact that the sect is a *colluvies* from all other sects—a collection of individuals who throw off the restraints of the stricter forms of Hinduism in the profession of doctrines which allow greater license."

Mr. Adam's Statistical Conclusions.

Mr. Adam estimated that in Bengal there were about 100,000 schools for the education of the people. By a process of fair and legitimate induction he showed that "in the most highly cultured Districts visited by the Government Commissioner, only 16 per cent. of the

teachable or school-going population do actually receive *any kind or degree* of instruction at all : and in the least cultured Districts visited only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.—while the aggregating average for all the Districts is no more than $7\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.—leaving $92\frac{1}{4}$ of every 100 children of the teachable age *wholly destitute of all kinds and degrees of instruction whatever.*”

Mr. Adam's Criticism of Indigenous Elementary Education.

Mr. Adam thus reflects on the condition of elementary education as revealed by his survey :—“ The chief evils in the system of common Bengali schools consist less in the nature of that which is taught, or in the manner of teaching it, than in the absence of that which is not taught at all. The system is bad because it is greatly imperfect. What is taught should, on the whole, continue to be taught ; but something else should be added in order to constitute it a system of salutary popular instruction. No one will deny that a knowledge of Bengali writing, and of native accounts is requisite to natives of Bengal ; but when these are made the substance and sum of popular instruction and knowledge, the popular mind is necessarily cabined, cribbed and confined within the smallest possible range of ideas, and those of the most limited local, temporary interests, and it fails even to acquire those habits of accuracy and precision which the exclusive devotion to forms of calculation might seem fitted to produce. What is wanted is some thing to awaken and expand the mind, to unshackle it from the trammels of mere usage, and to teach it to employ its own powers ; and, for such purposes, the introduction into the system of some branch of knowledge in itself perfectly useless (even if such an one could be found) would at least arouse and interest by its novelty, and in this way be of some benefit. Of course, the benefit would be much greater if the new branch of knowledge were of a useful tendency, stimulating the mind to the increased observation and comparison of external objects, and throwing

it back upon itself with a large stock of materials for thought. A higher intellectual cultivation, however, is not all that is required. That to be beneficial to the individual and to society must be accompanied by the cultivation of the moral sentiments and habits. Here the native system presents a perfect blank. The hand, the eye, and the ear are employed; the memory is a good deal exercised; the judgment is not wholly neglected; and the religious sentiment is early and perseveringly cherished. . . . But the passions and affections are allowed to grow up wild without any thought of pruning their luxuriances or directing their exercise to good purposes. Hence, I am inclined to believe, the infrequency in native society of enlarged views of moral and social obligations, and hence the corresponding radical defect of the native character which appears to be that of a narrow and contracted selfishness, naturally arising from the fact that the young mind is seldom, if ever, taught to look for the means of its own happiness and improvement in the indulgence of benevolent feelings and the performances of benevolent acts to those who are beyond a certain pale.* The radical defect of the system of elementary instruction seems to explain the radical defect of the native character; and if I have rightly estimated cause and effect, it follows that no material improvement of the native character can be expected, and no improvement whatever of the system of elementary instruction will be sufficient, without a large infusion into it of moral instruction that shall always connect in the mind of the person with the knowledge which he acquires, some useful purpose to which it may be and ought to be applied, not necessarily productive of personal gain or advantage to himself."

* Whatever may have been the relationship between the various castes in the time of Mr. Adam, there is now a distinctly widespread sympathy - witness the relief work done by schoolboys and their parents in the recent floods in Bengal, and the establishment and endowment of Charity Hospitals, or Orphanages, or Homes for the Destitute in many Districts.

Mr. Adam's Recommendations.

Only a bare outline can be given of the measures by which Mr. Adam proposed to improve the condition of elementary schools. Having premised that it would probably be admitted that any scheme which is intended for the promotion of public instruction should be simple in its details and thereby easy of execution ; cheap and thereby capable of extensive or general application ; not alarming to the prejudices of the people, but calculated on the contrary to create good feelings towards their rulers ; not tending to supersede or repress self-exertion, but rather to stimulate and encourage it, and at the same time give Government the lead in the adoption and direction of measures for the future moulding and development of native character, native society, and native institutions ;— having premised all this, Mr. Adam centred his recommendations on the improvement of vernacular elementary instruction by improving the existing schools and schoolmasters, through affording them encouragement. He urged that to improve indigenous schools, the first step to be taken was to put the schoolmasters under the supervision of an Inspector co-operating with the Local Committee. The gurus should be publicly and periodically examined, and encouraged by rewards corresponding in value to the progress made by the pupils. He advised that there should be in each district one Anglo-Vernacular School into which promising boys might be received from the elementary schools around, and which should serve as a Normal School for the training of teachers. For the support of these improved teachers small jagirs of land should be assigned in each village. Government should undertake the preparation and distribution of a series of vernacular school books. Such were Mr. Adam's main proposals, and he desired to see them given a trial in one or more selected districts, which latter should first be surveyed in respect of population, the existing means of education, the condition of existing schools, and the attendance in them of scholars.

Discipline in Indigenous Elementary Schools.

In the course of his Report Mr. Adam incidentally states that the teachers being little respected and poorly rewarded there was but small encouragement for persons of character, talent and learning to engage in school-mastering. Even pupils seem at times to have shared in setting their teacher at naught. A writer in the *Calcutta Review* * supplies the human touch to school life in a patshala. He relates :—“In preparing the gurumahashay’s hukka, it is a common trick for the boys to mix the tobacco with chillies and other pungent ingredients ; so that when he smokes, he is made to cough violently, while the whole school is convulsed with laughter. Or, beneath the mat on which he sits, may be strewn thorns or sharp prickles, which soon display their effects in the contortions of the crest-fallen and discomforted master. Or, at night he is waylaid by his pupils, who from their concealed position in a tree, or thicket, or behind a wall, pelt him with pebbles, bricks or stones. Or, once more, they rehearse doggerel songs in which they implore the gods, and more particularly Kali, to remove him by death—vowing in the event of the prayer being heard, to offer her presents of sugar and cocoanuts.”

Truancy.

The same writer informs us “the boys have cunning plans for escaping from school. To throw boiled rice on domestic vessels ceremonially defiles them. Hence, when a boy is bent on a day’s release from school, he peremptorily disobeys his admonishing mother, saying, ‘No ; if you insist on my going to school, I shall throw about the boiled rice’—a threat which usually gives him the victory. If a person of different caste, or unbathed, or with his shoes on his feet, touch the boiled rice or pot of another, it is polluted. Hence, when a boy effects his escape from school, he often hastens to some kitchen, touches the boiled rice or the pots in which it has been boiled, and thus becomes himself polluted ; and, until he bathes, no one can

* 1844, Vol. II., No. IV., p. 336.

touch or seize him without being polluted too. A temporary impunity is thus secured. At other times the boy finds his way to filthy and unclean places, where he remains for hours or a whole day, defying the master and his emissaries to touch him—knowing full well that they cannot do so without partaking of his own contracted pollution. So determined are boys to evade the tortuous system of discipline, that in making good their escape, they often wade or swim through tanks, or along the current of running drains, with a large earthen pot inverted over their heads, so that the suspicion of passers-by, or of those in pursuit, is not even excited—seeing that nothing appears on the surface but a floating pot. Or, they run off and climb into the loftiest neighbouring tree, where they laugh to scorn the efforts of their assailants to dislodge them.”

Common Forms of Punishment.

Reprehensible as was such behaviour on the part of scholars, perhaps it was in retaliation for the punishments they commonly received from the guru. Lal Behari Day, in his interesting book, *Bengal Peasant Life*, gives us a peep into village school life, and mentions some of the punishments generally recognized and expected. To these may be added the following which were within the daily experience of every boy :—

“ A boy is made to bend forward with his face toward the ground. A heavy brick is then placed on his back and another on his neck. And should he let either of them fall within the prescribed period of half an hour or so, he is punished with the cane.

“ A boy is condemned to stand for half an hour or an hour on one foot ; and should he shake or quiver, or let down the uplifted leg before the time, he is severely punished.

“ A boy is made to sit on the floor in an exceedingly constrained position with one leg turned up behind his neck. He is made to sit with his feet resting on two bricks and with his head bent down between his legs, with his

hands twisted round each leg so as painfully to catch his ears.

“A boy is made to hang for a few minutes, with his head downwards, from the branch of a neighbouring tree.

“His hands and feet are bound with cords ; to these members so bound, a rope is fastened, and the boy is then hoisted up by means of a pulley attached to the beams or rafters of the school.

“Nettles, dipped in water, are applied to the body, which becomes irritated and swollen. The pain is excruciating, and often lasts for a whole day. But however great the itching and the pain, the sufferer is not allowed to rub or touch the skin for relief, under the dread of flagellation in addition.

“The boy is put into a sack along with some nettles, or a cat, or some other noisome creature, and then rolled along the ground.

“The fingers of both hands are interlaced across each other with a stick between them, and two sticks from without are drawn close together and tied.

“The boy is made to measure so many cubits along the ground, by marking off each with the tip of his nose.

“Four boys are made to seize another, two holding the arms and two the feet. They then alternately swing him and throw him violently on the ground.

“The boy is constrained to pull his own ears ; and if he fail to extend them sufficiently, he is visited with sorer chastisement.

“Two boys are made to seize another by the ears, and, with these organs well out-stretched, he is made to run along for the amusement of the bystanders.

“Two boys, when both have given offence, are made to knock their heads several times against each other.

“The boy, who comes first to school in the morning receives one stroke of the cane on the palm of his hand ; the next receives two strokes, and so each in succession, as he arrives, receives a number of strokes equal to the

number of boys that preceded him—the first to arrive being the privileged administrator of them all.”

Dr. Duff on the Moral Influence of Patshala Life on the Pupil.

Reflecting upon these punishments, Dr. Alexander Duff observes as follows in the *Calcutta Review* of 1844 :—
“ No wonder that the *patshala* should be viewed, as it uniformly is, as an object of terror by the young When a child misbehaves the most severe and awe-inspiring threat of the mother is ‘ Call the Gurumahashaya to take him to school ! ’ Apart from its general influence in paralysing the intellectual and moral powers, this system of terror leads to many specific practices of a baneful tendency. It superinduces the habit of crouching servility towards the master in his presence, and the rendering of many menial and even dishonest services. To propitiate the dreaded tyrant the boys are glad to prepare his *hukka*, to bring fire for smoking, to gather flowers for his *pujah*, to sweep his lodgings, to wash his brazen pots, to cleave thick pieces of wood for fuel, etc. They are induced to go to the bazar with their written plantain leaves, and to give them to the shopkeepers as packing material, in exchange for cowries, fish, tobacco, fruit, betel-nut, pawn, etc., which they present as offerings to their master. Or they are positively encouraged, for his sake, to bring, that is in reality, to purloin or steal, wood, rice, salt, oil, *dhal*, etc., from home, or from anywhere else ; seeing that those who succeed, by fair means or foul, in presenting such gifts most frequently have the best chance of escaping the rod—the best chance of being praised for cleverness though the greatest dunces ; for diligence though the greatest sluggards ; and for knowledge though the greatest ignoramuses.”

CHAPTER III.

From the Resolution of Lord William Bentinck to the Abolition of the Committee of General Instruction in 1842.

Let us return to the promulgation by Lord William Bentinck of his Resolution of the 7th March, 1835. Within a fortnight of that date he quitted the shores of India, and heard but little of the keen disappointment with which his pronouncement was received by the Orientalists. They had not altogether expected his verdict; and his new (but not quite new) policy was unpalatable to them. The Hon'ble Mr. Shakespear, from conscientious scruples, resigned his seat on the Committee of Public Instruction. The numerous *pandits* of *tols* and *maulavis* of *madrasahs* knew that their day was gone. The scores of pupils who, in the institutions of "indigenous learning," for a long series of years had been "maintained from childhood" on "bounties and premiums" lavished upon them by the Honourable East India Company, realized that they must now lose their "decent living." The cry, therefore, went up, loud and strong, against the edict of the departing Governor-General. It reached the ears of Lord Auckland the moment he entered upon his exalted office. He examined the whole position, and in a Minute, dated the 24th November, 1839, he expressed the belief (the Court of Directors concurring) that the insufficiency of funds assigned for the purpose of native education was the chief cause of the disputes which had arisen in the Committee of Public Instruction, and of the complaints (1) that oriental colleges had been weakened by the transfer of funds from them for the support of English classes under the same roof, or to other institutions where English instruction was being imparted; (2) that instruction in English had become the main teaching, and that only a subordinate position was given to the vernaculars; and (3) that the abolition of stipends in oriental seminaries had caused much suffering to those

who had been drawing them. He, therefore, ordained that all the funds which, previous to Lord William Bentinck's Resolution, had been assigned to oriental instruction, should be restored to the oriental colleges ; and that any additional funds which might be required for the promotion of English instruction, should be supplied by new grants from the public purse.* With regard to the medium of instruction he held that two great experiments were in progress—one in Bengal, where education was being imparted through the medium of English, and the other in the Bombay Presidency, through the medium of the vernacular language. He was in favour of both experiments being “thoroughly developed and the results observed.”† He, therefore, saw no reason why there should be any departure from the principle of combined English and Vernacular instruction—the principle which had been acted upon to some extent even before the promulgation of Lord William Bentinck's Resolution. When a series of good vernacular class books had been prepared, the case would be somewhat altered ; and it might then be considered whether, in the Provincial schools, instruction should be conveyed in English or in the vernacular languages.

From March 1835, however, the General Committee had been under the presidency of Lord Macaulay ; and as might have been expected, it had resolutely set itself to spread education among the upper and middle classes through the medium of English. For the next four or five years, it would listen to no modification of the system inaugurated by Lord William Bentinck. If separate vernacular schools were proposed, the proposal could not be entertained—it was contrary to the orders of Government

* In 1836 the sum of Rs. 3,89,500 was at the disposal of Government for educational purposes. In 1840 Lord Auckland increased the allotment by Rs. 1,50,000.

† Sir C. E. Trevelyan thus sums up the results of these experiments :—“It is a striking confirmation of the soundness of the prevailing plan of education, that the Bengal and Bombay Presidencies, although they set out from different quarters, and preserved no concert with each other, settled at last on exactly the same point. In Bengal we began by giving almost exclusive attention to the native classical languages, as they did in Bombay to the vernacular languages. In both cases experience has led to the conviction of the value of English, and to its having had that prominent place accorded to it which its importance demands.”

passed after mature deliberation. If a Local Committee complained of want of success, it was exhorted to persevere. At first much misapprehension existed in various quarters in regard to the extent to which the vernacular languages were to be taught in Government schools. Some were of opinion that according to the most obvious interpretation of the Government Resolution the vernaculars were wholly excluded, and that all funds were to be employed strictly "on English education alone."

The General Committee of Public Instruction declare that Instruction in the Vernaculars was not prohibited by the Resolution of Lord William Bentinck.

To remove all misunderstanding the General Committee made the following clear pronouncement in their Annual Report for 1835:—"We are deeply sensible of the importance of encouraging the cultivation of the vernacular languages. We do not conceive that the order of the 7th March (*i.e.*, Lord William Bentinck's Resolution) precludes us from doing this, and we have consistently acted on this construction. In the discussion which preceded that order, the claims of the vernacular language were broadly and prominently admitted by all parties; and the question submitted for the decision of Government only concerned the relative advantage of teaching English on the one side and the Learned Eastern Languages on the other We therefore conceive that the phrases 'European Literature and Science,' 'English education alone' and 'imparting to the native population a knowledge of English Literature and Science through the medium of the English language' are intended merely to secure the preference to European learning taught through the medium of the English language, over Oriental learning taught through the medium of the Sanskrit and Arabic languages, as regards the instruction of those natives who receive a learned education at our seminaries. These expressions have, as we understand them, no reference to the question through what ulterior medium such instruction as the mass of the

people is capable of receiving is to be conveyed. If English had been rejected, and the learned Eastern tongues adopted, the people must equally have received their knowledge through the vernacular dialects. It was, therefore, quite unnecessary for the Government, in deciding the question between rival languages, to take any notice of the vernacular tongues ; and consequently we have thought that nothing could reasonably be inferred from its omission to take such notice."

The "Filtration Theory."

It would appear that the whole position was in general terms regulated by the principle, already mentioned on page 23, that the tendency of education was to spread from the higher ranks of society to the lower orders. Mr. Adam was no believer in this doctrine so far as Bengal was concerned. Lord Macaulay on the contrary considered it almost axiomatic. In his minute of the 31st July, 1837, he wrote :—" We do not at present aim at giving education directly to the lower classes of the people of this country. We aim at raising up an educated class who will hereafter, as we hope, be the means of diffusing among their countrymen some portion of the knowledge we have imparted to them." In his minute of the 31st December, 1837, he reiterated "we mean these youths to be conductors of knowledge to the people." This being so, "I do not," said he in another minute, "see how we can either make the present teachers of elementary knowledge more competent, or supply their places as yet with fitter men. The evil is one which time only can remedy, our schools (English) are nurseries for schoolmasters for the next generation. If we can raise up a class of educated Bengalis, they will naturally, and without any violent change, displace by degrees the present incompetent teachers."

Mr. Adam's Report considered by the General Committee and his Recommendations almost wholly rejected.

While these views were canvassed and prevailed, Mr. Adam's Report was presented to the General Committee

of Public Instruction. They rejected his plan and recommendations as a whole. They were of opinion that the execution of his scheme for diffusing elementary instruction among the masses would be "almost impossible," and that, in any case, it would involve more expenditure than he might suppose. They referred to the repeated failure of the attempts made in various parts of the country, notably in Chinsurah, Dacca, Daulatpur and Bhagalpur, to improve the common village school; and they recorded "A further experience and a more mature consideration of the important subject of education in this country, has led us to adhere to the opinion formerly expressed by us, that our efforts should at first be concentrated to the chief towns or sudder stations of districts, and to the improvement of education among the higher and middle classes of the population; in the expectation that through the agency of these scholars, an educational reform will descend to the rural vernacular schools, and its benefit be rapidly transfused among all those excluded in the first instance by abject want from a participation in its advantages."

*Mr. Adam's Plan not given a Trial even in Schools near Calcutta.
Court of Directors concur with the Government.*

While in the main refusing to adopt Mr. Adam's recommendations in general, the majority of the members of the General Committee wished to give his scheme a trial on a small scale, by applying it to a circle of twenty schools in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, premising that the expense of the experiment should not fall on the funds at their disposal. The Government did not approve the proposal. Mr. Adam in disgust resigned his appointment. The Court of Directors confirmed the resolutions of the Government, and intimated that when the educational needs of the superior and middle classes had been provided for, "then Mr. Adam's proposals might be taken upon a liberal scale with some fairer prospect of success."

*The Members of the Education Commission in 1882
approve the Action of the General Committee.*

The Education Commission, in their Report on the Progress of Education in the Lower Provinces of Bengal, 1881-82, thus express themselves on the action taken by the General Committee on Mr. Adam's Report :—“If with the sums, for instance, which were at the disposal of the Committee of Public Instruction, and which barely amounted to one lakh of rupees in 1823 and to 4 lakhs in 1835, the Committee had undertaken to establish vernacular schools of their own, or to improve the hundred-thousand *patshalas* which Bengal had been estimated to contain, or to establish small vernacular scholarships instead of substantial English scholarships as they did in 1839, they could not have achieved any tangible results. They could not have found a competent inspecting staff, nor a body of efficient teachers, nor any school books more suitable than the missionary publications of early times, which had never been able to make their way into indigenous schools. By limiting their efforts as they did, they prepared a body of useful and trustworthy public servants, stimulated the intelligence of a growing middle class, and brought vernacular authorship into existence.”

The General Committee declare their Intention of establishing Anglo-Vernacular Schools for the Upper and Middle Grades of Society.

Fortified by the support which their policy had received from the Court of Directors the General Committee were more deeply convinced than ever of the soundness of the principles by which they had hitherto been guided, and they declared that their efforts would continue to be directed to the establishment of Anglo-Vernacular schools in the principal towns and to the improvement of education among the more influential classes of the people. At the same time they admitted the importance of vernacular education, and resolved to prevent English studies from unfairly displacing vernacular studies. To accomplish this they provided each of their schools with one set of teachers

for English subjects, and another set of teachers for vernacular subjects.

Plan of Instruction in Anglo-Vernacular Schools.

In the new Anglo-Vernacular schools of the General Committee, the pupils, without exception, were taught to read their mother tongue, and to write it with correctness. They began the vernacular alphabet at the same time as they commenced the English alphabet, and progress in the two alphabets marched side by side. In this early stage of their education, they were required to explain in their own language the meanings of English words. The next stage was to exercise them in the translation of easy English sentences into the vernacular and *vice versa*. They were also at frequent intervals called upon to write paragraphs of original composition in the vulgar tongue. In the Junior Classes one-third of the school hours was reserved for direct instruction in the vernacular, and in the Senior Classes, about one-fourth. To give the vernaculars an added importance, a paper in these languages formed a part of the examinations upon whose results were awarded Junior and Senior Scholarships—encouragements which about this time were provided by Lord Auckland.

English tended to eclipse Vernaculars.

In spite of every precaution to prevent it, the study of English unfailingly tended to take complete possession of the schools. Mr. Kerr informs us that comparatively little attention was given to the object of conveying instruction through the medium of the vernacular. To correct this, the General Committee more than once drew the attention of teachers to the importance of making exercises in translation a means of imparting sound knowledge in every subject of general interest—morals, history, science and literature—and not merely a vehicle for the purpose of “furnishing vocables” of the English and Vernacular languages. Nevertheless, it has to be recorded that the

vernacular languages in the Anglo-Vernacular schools continued to be overshadowed by English.

Educational Funds in 1840.

The funds at the disposal of the Government for educational purposes in 1836 amounted to nearly 4 lakhs of rupees. This sum was compiled from the following sources :—

Parliamentary Grant of 1813	...	...	Rs.	1,06,600
Interest of the unappropriated Grant held by the Agent	...	...	„	40,000
Separate Grants made by the Local Government	...	...	„	1,12,200
Interest on Local Funds	...	...	„	69,600
Schooling Fees	...	...	„	38,300
Miscellaneous Receipts	...	...	„	22,800
Total				Rs. 3,89,500

To this amount in 1840 Lord Auckland added a further grant of nearly 1½ lakhs, thus raising the educational funds of Government to about 5½ lakhs of rupees a year.

The General Committee replaced by the Council of Education.

The General Committee of Public Instruction had now superintended the educational operations of Government for all but twenty years—twenty years of good repute and evil repute. It had not wavered when misunderstood or criticized. Out of no recognized system it had evolved principles of education which were well defined and which had become established. But its business had attained such dimensions, and the funds under its control were now so considerable, that the Government felt that the time had come for it to take education more directly under its own supervision. Accordingly, in 1842, the General Committee of Public Instruction was disbanded, and in its stead the Council of Education was installed, with the President of the Indian Law Commission, the Indian Law Commissioner, the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, the Secretary to the Law Commission, the Superintendent of the Eye Infirmary, and two Hindu gentlemen, as members, and Dr. Mouat as Secretary.

CHAPTER IV.

From the Days of the Council of Education to Lord Stanley's Education Despatch, 1842 to 1859.

The Council of Education assumed control of the Hooghly College, the Sanskrit College, the Hindu College, the Calcutta Medical College, the Calcutta Madrasah, and later on of the Colleges at Krishnagar and Dacca. Eventually it became responsible for all the provincial schools in Bengal save those in which purely vernacular instruction was being imparted.

Statistics for the Year 1842-1843.

The following are the statistics of Education in Bengal for the year 1842-1843, the first year of the Council of Education :—

	Number of institutions.	Number of Pupils.	Number of stipends or scholarships offered.				Value of the scholarships.	Government grant for the year.
			English.		Oriental.			
			Senior.	Junior.	Senior.	Junior.		
Colleges, English, with Collegiate Schools and the Calcutta Patshalas	7	1,826	33	32	94	65	Rs. 19,165	Rs. 4,12,284
Colleges, Professional	1	87						
Colleges, Oriental ...	2	371						
English Schools ...	16	2,190						
Do. Infant School ...	1	54						
Bhagalpore Hill School	1	104						
Total	28	4,632						

Number of masters, 58 ; number of assistant masters, 133.

N.B.—The Statement does not include the schools and colleges unconnected with Government, and it altogether omits the *tols*, *mukhtabs*, *patshalas* and *madrasahs* which were in the Province.

The North-Western Provinces separated from Bengal.

The year 1842 witnessed an event of great importance, *viz.*, the separation of the North-Western Provinces of Bengal from the Lower Provinces, and their constitution

into a new Government whose headquarters were at Agra. In the following year the sum of two lakhs of rupees was allotted to the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, from the total provision of $5\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs for education, for expenditure upon the schools within his jurisdiction.

*Mr. Thomason gives effect in the N.-W. Provinces
to Mr. Adam's plan of Mass Education.*

Mr. Thomason, the first Lieutenant-Governor at Agra, was a man of strong personality and independence of action. His experience of the people committed to his trust was intimate, and his understanding of their needs was unerring. He was familiar with the recommendations which Mr. W. Adam had submitted in 1835 to 1838 for the consideration of the General Committee of Education, and he regarded them as worthy of acceptance. No one knew better than he did how steeped in ignorance were the raiyats of his province. From particular enquiry he ascertained that less than 5 per cent. of boys of school-going age were receiving instruction, and that of the most apologetic description. True, there was nothing singular in this. It was the same in every part of the Indian possessions of the East India Company. But from the facts before him, Mr. Thomason made deductions that were strange to the times in which he lived. He declared that such a state of affairs was a "standing reproach" to the British Government, whose bounden duty it was to remove it, and to have every peasant in the country taught to read, write, and cipher with sufficient intelligence to keep the accounts of his own lands, and to understand the nature of his own rights and his own tenure. As the best means of arousing the mass of the people to a sense of the value of a sound elementary education, he determined to associate education in the minds of an agricultural people with the revenue system of the country. "In this view," to quote Mr. Howell, "every village of a certain size was to have its own school

and master supported by an endowment of not less than five acres of land from the village community, of the annual value of Rs. 20 to Rs. 40. Where the village community would grant the land, the Government would remit the public demand on the land so assigned. To the principle of endowment the Court of Directors, however, objected. While they entirely approved of Mr. Thomason's object, and declared themselves ready to sanction means for its attainment, they doubted the propriety of endowments of the kind proposed, as having the tendency to assume the character of permanent and hereditary rights, irrespective of the competency of the actual incumbents. The Court was in favour of money-payments to the school-masters, and invited the Lieutenant-Governor to submit a scheme revised on the basis of allowances to teachers. Mr. Thomason, however, was opposed to the creation of a new and large body of men on the footing of regular Government officials. He thought that such a measure would involve numerous petty disbursements difficult to check in remote Districts, and would fail to secure the co-operation of the people—on which alone a national system could be safely based. His revised scheme, therefore, took a new form. He determined to establish a Government or Model School in each *Tahsildari* revenue district, and from there as a centre to supervise all the surrounding indigenous schools, and to furnish the people and teachers with advice, assistance, and encouragement, together with special rewards for the most deserving schoolmasters. All these arrangements were to be made under a Civilian with the title of Visitor General, on a salary of £1,200 a year, and suitable travelling allowance. The expense of the measure throughout the 31 Regulation Districts of the Province was estimated at a little more than £20,000 a year; but in the first instance, it was to be introduced into eight selected Districts at an annual cost of £3,600. These proposals were sanctioned by the Court of

Directors, and on the 5th February, 1850, the measure was formally established by a Resolution of the Local Government (No. 14 of the 3rd October, 1849). In 1853 the Lieutenant-Governor submitted a full report on the experiment. He showed that more than 1,400 schools with nearly 20,000 scholars had been created by the new agency; that the quality of the instruction had been greatly improved; that sound elementary treatises had been made popular; and that everywhere a new spirit of energy and mental activity had been aroused. These results were confirmed by a visit of personal inspection by the Secretary* of the Council of Education, who warmly advocated the introduction of the same measures into Bengal and Behar." As will be seen later on, page 156, in 1853 Lord Dalhousie was prepared to let the Lower Provinces profit by the success achieved by Mr. Thomason's sagacity.

Lord Hardinge throws open the higher and lower Services of Government to Persons who have received a suitable Education.

The study of English had been already fostered by more than one public document. In 1844 it received a new impetus—not that, on the part of the higher classes, any was needed—by Lord Hardinge's Resolution of the 11th October of that year:—

“The Governor-General, having taken into his consideration the existing state of education in Bengal, and being of opinion that it is highly desirable to afford it every reasonable encouragement by holding out to those who have taken advantage of the opportunity of instruction afforded to them, a fair prospect of employment in the public service, and thereby not only to reward individual merit, but also to enable them to profit as largely and as early as possible by the result of the measures adopted of late years for the instruction of the people as well by the Government as by private individuals and societies, has resolved that in every possible case preference shall be

* Dr. Mouat.

given in the selection of candidates for public employment to those who have been educated in the institutions thus established, and especially to those who have distinguished themselves therein by a more than ordinary degree of merit and attainment.

“The Governor-General is accordingly pleased to direct that it be an instruction to the Council of Education and to the several Local Committees and other authorities charged with the duty of superintending public instruction throughout the Province subject to the Government of Bengal, to submit to that Government at an early date, and subsequently on the 1st of January of each year, returns of students who may be fitted, according to their several degrees of merit and capacity, for such of the public offices as, with reference to their age, abilities and other circumstances, they may be deemed qualified to fill.

“The Governor-General is further pleased to direct that the Council of Education be requested to receive from the Governors or Managers of all scholastic establishments, other than those supported out of the public funds, similar returns of meritorious students, and to incorporate them, after due and sufficient enquiry, with those of Government institutions, and also that the Managers of such establishments be publicly invited to furnish returns of that description periodically to the Council of Education.

“With a view to still further promote and encourage the diffusion of knowledge among the humbler classes of the people, the Governor-General is also pleased to direct that even in the selection of persons to fill the lowest offices under the Government, respect be had to the relative acquirements of the candidates, and that in every instance a man who can read and write be preferred to one who cannot.”

The Resolution criticized, and responsible for By-products.

Lord Hardinge's Resolution did not receive everywhere a cordial reception, although Indians hailed it with delight. Mr. Thomason, Lieutenant-Governor of

the Upper Provinces, expressed the opinion that "habits of subordination, honesty, self-exertion, are even of more importance to success in life than mere talent and erudition," and that these useful qualities would be more likely to suffer than to gain by a system which would tend "to make every clever boy believe himself an especial *protégé* of the Government, and rely for his future position more on the favours of others than on his own exertions." There were those who considered that the Resolution would help to distort the true intent of education. And in later years the question has sometimes been raised whether the Resolution is not largely responsible for the germination, in Bengal and in other Provinces, of the notion that the chief value of education, and more particularly of an education in English, is that it opens the door to Government employment. Again, is it not possible that the Resolution wrought, in part, the destruction of the "filtration theory" by attracting to the Services of Government those members of the middle and upper classes whom it had all along been a fond desire to convert into teachers of the masses—that it made straight the path of escape for those who, under the influence of caste prejudice, shrank from becoming schoolmasters to the *profanum vulgus*?

The Council of Education give effect to the Resolution.

The Council of Education, however, addressed itself loyally to carry out its orders. Education in English was being afforded by certain private schools that had sprung up, by the Government Zilla Schools, and by a small number of Colleges. The Council settled the question as to what should be the minimum standard of education for admission into the better appointments under Government, by deciding that it should be identical with the exactions for a Senior English Scholarship. They accordingly began to examine candidates for employment by Government, and to publish their names in order of merit.

Opening of "Hardinge Schools" in 1845.

But Lord Hardinge's Resolution had further ruled that "in selecting for employment in the lowest offices under Government, preference should be given to one who can read and write to one who cannot."

This demanded that indigenous schools should be taken into account, and that they should consequently receive attention. In the zilla schools there already were vernacular classes; but now the Government, breaking away from all tradition, resolved, independently of the Council of Education, to take direct measures for the diffusion of elementary instruction in the rural tracts of the Province. It accordingly established 101 elementary schools, which came to be known as "Hardinge Schools." They were placed under the Board of Revenue, and Government thus set forth its views regarding them :—

"The Right Hon'ble the Governor of Bengal has determined to sanction the formation of village schools in the several Districts of Bengal, Behar and Cuttack, in which sound and useful elementary instruction may be imparted in the vernacular language.

"The number of schools which the funds at the disposal of the Government will admit of being formed, is 101, to each of which a master will be appointed capable of giving instruction in vernacular reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and the histories of India and Bengal.

"The salaries of the masters will be as follows :—

- 20 Masters at Rs. 25 a month,
- 30 Masters at Rs. 20 a month, and
- 51 Masters at Rs. 15 a month.

"The schools will be established in two or three of the principal towns of each District where the inhabitants may be willing to provide a suitable building for the purpose, and keep it in proper repair. The Collectors or Deputy Collectors of each District will take care that the intentions of the Government are made universally known

before they decide on the location of the schools, and invariably give the most populous places the preference.

“It is the desire of the Government that all boys who may come for instruction to these schools should be compelled to pay a monthly sum, however small, for their tuition, and also be charged the full value of the books supplied to them from the public stores. Gratuitous education is never appreciated, and, moreover, the necessity for payment tends to induce the more respectable classes to send their children to the Government schools. All are equally in want of instruction, and it is obviously proper to begin with those who cannot only contribute means for its further extension, but also influence others by their example to follow the same course.”

The System of Instruction in the Hardinge Schools.

The system of instruction was to be uniform in all the schools :— “After each lesson in spelling and reading, the pupils should be made to copy several of the words from the book with great care and several times over. They must be prevented as much as possible from learning their lessons by heart, without spelling through or noticing the formation of words. Until they can make out the words by themselves without assistance, the master will read each lesson over to them slowly beforehand. The pupils must be kept in classes, and the plan adopted of allowing them to take places when one corrects another.”

Books to be used in the Hardinge Schools.

The spelling books and readers to be used were those published by the Calcutta School Book Society. “Each reading lesson being over, the pupils should be required to spell every long word, and to write from dictation a few lines of it. The arithmetical tables must be got by heart, and the pupils practised every day in mental addition and subtraction. The pupils may next read the following books :—

Bengalee Keath's Grammar.

„ Harley's Arithmetic.

„ Yate's Reader.

“ The grammar should be got by heart. The pupils should be required to spell the more difficult words, and to write from dictation passages from their reading lesson. They should likewise parse every sentence, and answer easy questions on grammar and what they read. The books which may be given them are :—

Bengalee Marshman's History of Bengal.

,, Pearce's Geography.

“ The pupils should be constantly practised in composition and letter-writing, and their studies in arithmetic should also be continued. They should parse daily three or four lines of their reading lesson, and be required to correct bad spelling and grammar. They should be minutely questioned upon every particular in the history they read, and occasionally be called upon to give written answers to the questions proposed. This subject should never be read without a map. The more advanced pupils may be required thrice a week to write essays and letters on various subjects, which should be valued not for their length, but for their grammatical and orthographical correctness, and for their closeness to the matter proposed.” *

Fees, and Remuneration of Teachers.

The school fee was fixed at one anna a month for each pupil. School books were to be purchased by the scholars. The income from fees was to be given to the teachers “ either in whole or in part ” as a reward for the diligent and successful discharge of their duties. Incidental expenses were in general to be defrayed from the intake from fees, for Government did not hold itself liable for any charges beyond the fixed salaries of the teachers.

The Hardinge Schools were not successful Institutions.

The Hardinge Schools, however, were doomed to failure. In the first place, Government was not prepared with school books, or teachers, or superintending agents. At the end of ten years in all only 26 out of the 101 schools

* The outline of the studies in the Hardinge Schools has been stated somewhat fully, so that the scope and method of vernacular education in them may be compared with the more modern and ambitious aims of present-day Vernacular Schools.

that had been established survived, and of them the Council of Education gave an unsatisfactory account in their final Report for the years 1852 to 1855. * Earlier Reports had referred to their unpopularity. For instance, the Report for 1846 stated "The motives of Government have certainly not been appreciated anywhere, and in Behar and some parts of Cuttack they are mistrusted. In Patna, Tirhoot and Faridpore it has been found impossible to establish any schools, and in all other Districts those that have been established are, with few exceptions, ill attended." The Report for 1848 gave a still more gloomy account:—"From the observations of the local officers, and from the results of the experiments hitherto made, the fate of the vernacular schools must, the Board think, be regarded as sealed. Success is quite hopeless, in their opinion, when all those entrusted with the extension of a scheme of this nature entertain such opinions as they have expressed, not only respecting its success, but also its claims to success. Nevertheless, the Board are not disposed to abandon the plan so long as any vitality remains."

Why the Hardinge Schools were unpopular.

In truth a variety of causes contributed to the failure of the Hardinge schools. Some of them had been established where there was no general desire for such vernacular instruction as Government was prepared to supply. The inhabitants usually subscribed nothing for the erection of school-houses, and their omission to do so was commonly made good by one or two wealthy zemindars, who were actuated by a desire to please the local Government officials. Again, the means of obtaining vernacular education already existed in the private schools that abounded in the Districts. The Reports of the Council of Education—for the schools were eventually put under its management—contain such observations as the following:—"Elementary education is to be had in numerous private

* See page 83.

schools. There are few large villages in which elementary vernacular instruction cannot be obtained at little or no expense." Another cause of the unsuccess of the schools was the demand of a schooling fee, at a time when such levies were viewed with general disfavour, and when the same elementary instruction offered by the Hardinge schools could be had for nothing, or almost nothing, in the many private schools that dotted the country. But perhaps the chief cause was that the schools were too purely vernacular for the tastes of the people. Some of the local officers reported that the cry for instruction in English was universal, and that the boys at school thrust their vernacular books into the hands of the teachers, and insisted upon being taught English.

Funds in 1848-49.

In 1845 Lord Hardinge added a sum of nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs to the $3\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of rupees that remained to Bengal on the transfer of 2 lakhs to the North-West Provinces for Education. In 1848-49 the receipts of the Government of Bengal for Education stood thus :—

Parliamentary and Government Grants	...	Rs. 3,91,378
Interest	...	51,522
Collections from lands...	...	8,427
School Fees	...	72,685
Miscellaneous Receipt (e.g., Sale of books, fines, etc.)	...	11,446
Total	...	<u>Rs. 5,35,458</u>

Appointment of an Inspector of Schools.

From the time that the Council of Education had assumed control of Education it had endeavoured to systematize and consolidate the existing schemes for instructing the people. In 1844 an Inspector of Schools had been appointed in the person of Mr. J. Ireland, at one time Principal of Dacca College. He had died before he had fairly entered upon his duties. He was succeeded by Mr. E. Lodge, whose appointment had to be terminated in 1848 because the funds at the disposal of the Council fell short of the normal expenditure. In the meantime Mr. Thomason's plans for the spread of elementary

education in the North-West Provinces attracted attention in Bengal. In the new province the introduction of Mr. Adam's proposals was bearing fruit.

Dr. Mouat submits a Report after observing the Plan of Elementary Education in the N.-W. Provinces.

In 1853 Dr. Mouat, the Secretary of the Bengal Council of Education, was (as has already been mentioned) deputed personally to acquaint himself with the means being adopted in the sister Province for the promotion of the instruction of the masses. On his return to Bengal, he submitted a Report from which the following extract is taken :—

“From having witnessed the utter failure of the scheme of vernacular education adopted in Bengal among the more intelligent, docile, and less-prejudiced people than those in the North-Western Provinces I am much struck with the real, solid advance made by Mr. Reid's system . . . I am convinced that it is not only the best adapted to leaven the ignorance of the agricultural population of the North-Western Provinces, but it is also the plan best suited for the vernacular education of the masses in Bengal and Behar.”

Lord Dalhousie causes the N.-W. P. System to be introduced into Bengal.

Lord Dalhousie, who was now Governor-General, took Dr. Mouat's Report into careful consideration, and in his minute of the 21st October, 1853, he declared “It is the plain duty of the Government at once to place within the reach of the people of Bengal and Behar those means of education which, notwithstanding our anxiety to do so, we have hitherto failed in presenting to them in an acceptable form, but which . . . are to be found in the successful scheme of the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces.”

He therefore called upon the Council of Education, proceeding upon Mr. Adam's Report and the North-Western Provinces system, to frame a scheme “best calculated to provide the most efficacious means of

founding and maintaining a sound and well adapted system of Vernacular Education to all the Provinces of this Government."

The Education (Wood) Despatch (No. 49) of the 19th July, 1854.

But, while the Government of Bengal,* the Governor-General and the Council of Education were elaborating schemes of education for the peoples of Bengal, the Charter of the Company was once more renewed, and the Indian Government was charged more completely than ever with the responsible duty of educating the masses. In 1854 was issued the Education Despatch, generally known as the Despatch of Sir Charles Wood (afterwards Viscount Halifax),† and regarded in India as the Charter of Education. Summarizing its scope, Lord Dalhousie pithily said :— "It contains a scheme of education for all India far wider and more comprehensive than the Local or Supreme Government could ever have ventured to suggest. It leaves nothing to be desired, if, indeed, it does not authorize and direct that more should be done than is within our grasp."

The appointment of Directors of Public Instruction in each Province.

The Despatch of 1854 wrought great changes in the educational activities of the Indian Government, and it put to an end the many disputes and discussions which from time to time had divided counsels and impeded progress. One of the most important changes which it introduced was the assumption of the functions of the Council of Education by a Director of Public Instruction in each of the Provinces of British India. ‡

Lord Stanley's Despatch No. 4 of the 7th April, 1859, supplements the Despatch of 1854.

The Wood Education Despatch of 1854 was supplemented by Lord Stanley's Education Despatch of 1859.

* On the renewal of the Charter in 1853 the Governor-General, who under the Act of 1833 had been *ex-officio* Governor of Bengal, was relieved of this position, which thereupon devolved upon a Lieutenant-Governor. Sir Frederick James Halliday was the first Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal (1854-59).

† It is believed to have been drafted by John Stuart Mill.

‡ Lord Auckland had anticipated the realization of this climax :—"The time may come," he wrote in 1840, "when unity and efficiency of supervision will be better secured by having a single Superintendent of the Government seminaries, with an adequate establishment, than by retaining the large Committee of Members, acting gratuitously and having other laborious duties to attend to."

Between these dates the Sepoy Mutiny had been quelled, and India had passed from Company to Crown. The sudden crisis which British fortunes came through during these memorable years, might have alienated another Government from its subjugated races. But Canning, nicknamed "Clemency" by his embittered countrymen, exhibited British qualities at their best; and Queen Victoria (of blessed memory) instructed her minister, Lord Derby, to frame a Royal proclamation "bearing in mind that it is a female Sovereign who speaks to more than a hundred millions of Eastern people, on assuming the direct government over them, and after a bloody war, giving them pledges which her future reign is to redeem." And so on the 1st November, 1858, Her Gracious Majesty's Royal Proclamation, translated into the many languages and dialects of India, was read with true oriental ceremonial splendour at every civil and military station. It made the people large and generous promises, and the Despatch of 1859 came as an earnest of their fulfilment.

*The Educational Despatches of 1854 and 1859.**

The main object of the Despatch of 1854 is to divert the efforts of Government from the education of the higher classes, upon
 § 2, 10, 39, 40 whom they had up to that date been too exclusively directed, and to turn them to the wider diffusion of education among all classes of people; and especially to the provision
 § 41 of primary instruction for the masses. Such
 § 50 of 1859 instruction is to be provided by the direct instrumentality of Government; and a compulsory rate, levied under the direct authority of Government, is pointed out as the best means of obtaining funds for the purpose. The system must be extended upwards by the establishment of Government
 § 51

* This admirable summary of these Despatches is taken from Arthur Holwell's *Note on the State of Education in India, 1866-67*.

- § 61 schools as models, to be superseded gradually by schools started on the grant-in-aid principle. This principle is to be of perfect religious neutrality, defined in regular rules adapted to the circumstances of each Province, and clearly and publicly placed before the natives of India. Schools, whether purely Government institutions or aided, in all of which (excepting Normal Schools) the payment of some fee, however small, is to be the rule, are to be in regular gradation from those which give the humblest elementary instruction to the highest colleges ; and the best pupils of one grade are to climb through the other grades by means of scholarships obtainable in the lower schools, and tenable in the higher. To
- § 47 to 63
- § 65 to 67
- § 23 of 1859 provide masters, normal schools are to be established in each Province, and moderate allowances given for the support of those who possess an aptness for teaching, and are willing to devote themselves to the profession of schoolmasters. By this means it is hoped that, at no distant period, institutions may be in operation in all the Presidencies calculated to supply masters for all classes of schools, and thus in time greatly to limit, if not altogether to obviate, the necessity of recruiting the educational services by means of engagements made in
- § 44
- § 11, 15, 70 England. The medium of education is to be the vernacular languages of India, into which the best elementary treatises in English should be translated. Such translations are to be advertised for and liberally rewarded by Government as the means of enriching vernacular literature. While,

- therefore, the vernacular languages are on no account to be neglected, the English language may be taught where there is a demand for it; but the English language is not to be substituted for the vernacular dialects of the country. The existing institutions for the study of the classical languages of India are to be maintained, and respect is to be paid to the hereditary veneration which they command. Female education is to receive the frank and cordial support of Government, as by it a far greater proportional impulse is imparted to the educational and moral tone of the people, than by the education of men. In addition to the Government and aided colleges and schools for general education, special institutions for imparting special education in law, medicine, engineering, art, and agriculture are to receive in every Province the direct aid and encouragement of Government. The agency by which the system of education is to be carried out is the Director in each Province, assisted by a competent staff of Inspectors, care being taken that the cost of control shall be kept in fair proportion to the cost of direct measures of instruction. To complete the system in each Presidency, a University is to be established on the model of the London University, at each of the three Presidency towns. These Universities are not to be themselves places of education, but they are to test the value of the education given elsewhere; they are to pass every student of ordinary ability who has fairly profited by the curriculum of school and college study which he has
- § 83
- § 8, 9
- § 79 to 81
- § 17 to 19
- § 40 of 1859
- § 24 to 36
- § 29

§ 41

passed through, the standard required being such as to command respect without discouraging the efforts of deserving students. Education is to be aided and supported by the principal officials of every District, and is to receive, besides, the direct encouragement of the State by the opening of Government appointments to those who have received a good education, irrespective of the place or manner in which it may have been acquired; and, in the lower situations, by preferring a man who can read and write, and is equally eligible in other respects, to one who cannot.

The Despatches of 1854 and 1859 and Elementary Education in England.

While the Despatch of 1859 was on its way to India, the Newcastle Commission (appointed in 1858) was enquiring into the state of popular education in England, and was considering what measures were required for the extension of sound and cheap elementary instruction to all classes of the English people. Hitherto there had been a system of small capitation grants payable on certain conditions, of which the most important were (1) that the school must be under a certificated teacher, and (2) that three-fourths of the children must pass a prescribed examination. In 1861 the Commissioners presented their report, and in it they stated that there was only one way of providing a good type of education "to a large body of inferior schools and inferior scholars" and that was "to institute a searching examination, by competent authority, of every child in every school to which grants are to be paid, with a view to ascertaining whether these indispensable elements of knowledge (*i.e.*, Reading, Writing and Arithmetic) are thoroughly acquired, and to make the prospects and position of the teachers dependent, to a considerable extent, upon the results of this examination." The recommendations of the Commissioners being accepted, the Code of

1862 introduced the system of "payment by results."* Mr. Lowe, the eminent educationist of the period, thus aptly sums up the position reached:—"As regards the elementary education of the humbler classes there are certain principles which are now pretty well established and carried out, *viz.*, *firstly*, that the education of the poor ought not to be left wholly to private enterprise, but ought to be undertaken by the State; *secondly*, that the State represents in education not the religious but the secular element; *thirdly*, that the best way of carrying on education is not by a centralized system, but by calling for all local energy; *fourthly*, that the work should be tested and superintended by Government and not by those who carry on the work; and, *fifthly*, that State aid ought to be given to schools not merely for being in existence, or for showing a certain attendance on their books, but for a certain amount of efficiency: that in short it is the business of the State to ascertain the results and to pay in proportion to them."

If the British public held such sentiments as these in regard to the education of the masses, and in regard to the functions of Government in the matter of public instruction, it was only natural that the Education Despatches of 1854 and 1859 should have adopted some of the doctrines becoming current at Home. Just as Lord William Bentinck's Resolution of the 7th March, 1835, was largely influenced by the trend of public events in England, so also the Despatches of Sir Charles Wood and Lord Stanley owed their inspiration to the acceptance by the British Government of the principle that it is the duty of the State to finance and promote the education of its subjects.

* In England this system of "payment by results" continued in force till 1895, from which year grants began to be paid for different parts of the curriculum. In 1900 was introduced the "block grant,"—a single principal grant of 21 or 22 shillings.

CHAPTER V.

From the Educational Despatch of 1859 to the Education Commission of 1882.

Why Vernacular Elementary Education had not been more largely spread among the lower Classes of Society.

The Despatch of 1859 stimulated the spread of vernacular elementary instruction among the lower orders. As has been seen, for a series of years some attempt had been made to bring primary education to the masses, but two unfavourable circumstances had hitherto prevented any appreciable headway being made through the Government agencies in Bengal. The first obstacle was the belief that elementary education was to be fostered mainly by means of the grant-in-aid system. The second impediment was that it was commonly held that, although an educational cess on land had been introduced into other parts of British India, the Permanent Settlement of Bengal by Lord Cornwallis precluded its being levied in that Province. The first of these obstructions was removed by the Despatch of 1859, which pronounced that the grant-in-aid system* as heretofore in force was unsuited to the education of the people at large. The second of these hindrances was

* The most important of the grant-in-aid rules restricted the aid given by Government to an amount equal to what was contributed by private persons, and schooling fees were not taken into account as an income derived from private sources. In 1857 Mr. Hodgson Pratt, Inspector of Schools, South Bengal, thus wrote:—"It appears to me undeniable that the present Grant-in-Aid Rules are inapplicable to the state of things in this country. The poorest classes, those who form the mass, do not want schools at all because they do not understand the use of Education, because they are too poor to pay Schooling Fees and Subscriptions, and because the labour of their children is required to enable them to live. The middle and upper classes will make no sort of sacrifice for the establishment of any but *English* schools. Yet the rules in force presume the highest appreciation of Education, because based on the supposition that the people will everywhere pay not only schooling fees but also subscriptions. In fact, we expect the peasantry and shopkeepers of Bengal to make sacrifices for Education which the same classes in civilized England often refuse to make! That we have been able to establish any Vernacular Schools at all is owing in nearly every case to the fact that in the place where such a School is set on foot, there happen to reside one or two persons of superior intelligence and education—a Calcutta clerk, a Moonsif, or a young Zemindar educated at College, etc.; but even these take but little interest in promoting improved Vernacular Schools, and only as a *pis aller* where they cannot collect sufficient funds for an English School."

All the Inspectors of Schools condemned the existing rule regarding half the cost of a school being borne by the people, and further urged that the income from fees should be added to the donations and subscriptions of villages. Mr. Pratt proposed as an improvement that local support of a school should be related to the economic condition of the people, and should be adjusted to a sliding scale, so that the private sources of income should pay one-half, or one-third, or one-fourth of the total monthly expenditure, the balance being made good by the grant-in-aid.

pushed aside by paragraphs 51 and 52 of the Despatch, which plainly directed that the means for diffusing popular education was to be derived from the levy of educational rates should it be deemed expedient to impose them.

The Cess Controversy.

It might have been supposed that the sanction of educational rates by so high an authority as that which had issued the Despatch would have silenced all opposition and discouraged debate. On the contrary there ensued what came to be known as the "Cess Controversy" between the Governments of India and Bengal. The former Government urged that in Bengal cesses might legitimately be imposed on land to the end that education might be afforded to the children of the agricultural classes. The Government of Bengal—which since 1853 had been under a Lieutenant-Governor—contended that the land revenue had been settled in perpetuity in the Province, and that therefore no new impost was permissible; that inasmuch as lands had changed hands many times since the first settlement, there were great difficulties in the way of decreeing new levies on land. The Local Government, further, pointed out that in Bengal there already existed a very large number of indigenous schools, and primary education was therefore an every-day fact. They, moreover, explained that about one-third of the children attending *patshalas* belonged to the middle and upper classes, *i.e.*, to the comparatively well-to-do orders. If taxation was to be resorted to, in all fairness local rating should fall alike on agriculturists and non-agriculturists. Finally, under existing conditions the taxation of land alone for the support of *patshalas* was neither just nor expedient. It would be better to have a general tax for education. Or, again, so high was the rate of the salt duty in Bengal as compared with other parts of British India, that a portion of its revenue might appropriately be made available for the improvement of Bengal primary schools. In any case, the voluntary principle had not been proved to have

exhausted its strength, and the Local Government was unwilling to abandon that principle. It was still vigorous, for the people were eagerly availing themselves of the grants-in-aid, and the income from fees in Bengal exceeded the entire local payments in certain other Provinces—their educational cesses included.

Mr. James Wilson declares that an Educational Cess was not barred by the Permanent Settlement of Bengal.

While this discussion was proceeding between the two Governments there happened to be an expert financier in the country. Each of the Mutiny years had ended in an enormous deficit—amounting in all to thirty million pounds. Lord Canning requested the Home Government to send him a competent adviser to recommend how the finances of the India Government might be rehabilitated. Accordingly, Mr. James Wilson, Secretary to the Board of Control and Vice-President of the Board of Trade, arrived in India in 1859. He examined the educational cess problem which was dividing Governments, and decided that the Permanent Settlement did not exempt Bengal landholders from liability to the general taxation of the country, and he showed from Lord Cornwallis' *Minutes* that their exemption was not contemplated in that Settlement. "He pointed out how unsound and dangerous a policy it would be to relieve the richest and most privileged class in India from its lawful share in the national expenditure, and how essential it was, in the general interests of the country, to adhere strictly to the rule laid down by Lord Cornwallis himself, that 'all who enjoy the protection of the state must pay for it in accordance with their means.'"^{*}

The Argyll Despatch of 1870 declares an Education Cess in Bengal permissible, but does not advocate its present Imposition.

The Government of Bengal remained impenitent and unconvinced. No steps had been taken up to the time that the Duke of Argyll's Despatch, dated the 12th May, 1870, arrived. It gave the verdict in favour of the

^{*} *Earl Canning* by Sir H. S. Cunningham.

Government of India and of Mr. Wilson :—"Rating for local expenditure is to be regarded, as it has hitherto been regarded in all the Provinces of the Empire, as taxation separate and distinct from the ordinary land revenue. The levying of such rates upon the holders of land irrespective of the land assessment involves no breach of faith on the part of Government whether as regards holders of permanent or temporary tenures. Her Majesty's Government can have no doubt that elsewhere, so in Bengal, the expenditure required for the education of the people ought to be mainly defrayed out of local resources. This, however, is precisely the application of rates which the present condition of the people may render them least able to appreciate. I approve, therefore, of Your Excellency proceeding with great caution."

No land is cessed in Bengal for Primary Education.

Thus terminated a memorable debate. But in the end no cess for the maintenance of elementary schools was imposed on land in Bengal.* The question was never again reopened, for in 1875 the Finance Commission declared "it is desirable that the cultivator should pay a smaller proportion (than now) of the national charges." Mr. Howell thus tersely sums up the position that had been reached :—"The State has, in fact, assumed the duty of providing elementary education for the masses, but it has not undertaken, and indeed it cannot undertake, to find the necessary funds from the Imperial exchequer."

*Popular dislike to a Vernacular Education,
and the Measures adopted to overcome it.*

Meanwhile in accordance with the new programme of the Despatch of 1854, the Council of Education had been replaced by a Director of Public Instruction—Mr. Gordon Young of the Civil Service. Four Inspectors and forty Sub-Inspectors were presently appointed. The grant-in-aid

* It is not clear whether this was due to the attitude of the Government of Bengal to the impost, or whether it may be ascribed to the circumstance that the financial position of that Government was improved by the decentralization of the finances, a measure which was effected shortly after the receipt of the Duke of Argyll's Despatch. (See page 93.)

system was ratified, and a set of rules was drawn up under which Government was prepared to subsidize all "schools in which a good secular education is given through the medium of English or the vernacular tongue." The training of teachers being essential to the scheme of educating the masses, Normal Schools were established at Hooghly, Dacca, Calcutta and Gauhati. But the most difficult portion of the work to be done lay in overcoming the indifference, or rather the aversion, displayed on all sides to a *purely vernacular* education. In their last Report for the years 1852-55 the Council of Education had written:— "A demand for English education has arisen in every District, and its strength may be tested by the fact that schooling-fees are willingly paid, and increasing numbers of teachers are supported, in private schools. It must, however, be confessed, that the hope of lucrative employment, rather than any real desire for education itself, mainly induces parents to pay for their children's instruction. In vernacular schools no such powerful motive exists, for the superiority of Government schools over those conducted by *gurumashays* is not generally acknowledged in the mofussil. Gradually, but surely, the vernacular schools established by Lord Hardinge have disappeared, until, at the beginning of the present year, there remained but twenty-six out of the original one-hundred-and-one." In order to overcome the popular aversion to vernacular education, it was resolved to establish a number of model vernacular or Halliday schools, in the more backward Districts,* in the hope that their example might stimulate a taste for an education of a similar description. That the material advantages might not be wanting, 320 vernacular scholarships of four rupees a month were annually bestowed up to a fixed number on the best boys in vernacular schools. Half the scholarships

* The Hardinge and Halliday Vernacular Schools were regarded partly as models for the guidance of grant-in-aid schools in their neighbourhood, and partly as "pioneers" intended to prepare the way in backward places for the establishment of aided schools.

were tenable at the Normal Schools to prepare their holders to be teachers, and the other half at English Zilla Schools. The Government, moreover, issued a general order to the effect that all appointments in the Public Services exceeding in value Rs. six a month, should in future be given to those only who could at least read and write."

Gurus sent to Normal Schools for Training as Teachers.

Presently it became evident that *patshala gurus* must be formally trained at the Normal Schools. In order to carry out this plan in detail, Babu Bhudeb Mukerjea was appointed in 1862 as an Additional Inspector, and he was given sole charge of this section of work in Burdwan, Nadia and Jessore. The following is taken from his Report in 1863 :—"No provision had been made under the original scheme for the education of the *gurus*; and the mere offer of money rewards from time to time was incapable of acting upon these men as an inducement to adopt an improved course of studies at their schools. This, it was conceded, was the weak point of the scheme, and here great improvements have been gradually introduced. A plan was at first devised according to which a certain number of *gurus* were to be transferred as stipendiary pupils to a Vernacular Normal School, trained pupils from which were deputed to hold their places in the *patshalas* until the *gurus* could be prepared for re-assuming charge of their proper duties."

In a short time two new features developed while this system was being brought into practice. In the first place, the *gurus* "for the most part withheld themselves from the Normal Schools, where it was supposed they had gone for training, and in the second place, the villagers had invariably nominated their future *gurus* to represent these men at the Normal Schools." In consequence of these abuses it was resolved that the system of rewards to *gurus* should make way for a scheme of payments of fixed stipends,* and that the villagers who nominated their *future gurus*, as well as

* See page 87.

their nominees, should be required to bind themselves severally by written agreements. Within the few months which elapsed between the appointment of Babu Bhudeb Mukerjea and his report, 239 villages in his jurisdiction had entered into the specified agreements, and as many teachers were under training in the Government Training Schools.

Measures adopted for improving the Teachers in Indigenous Schools.

Paragraph 48 of the Wood Despatch had stated that it was most important to make the greatest possible use of the existing indigenous schools and of the masters to whom (however inefficient as teachers) the people had been accustomed to look up to with respect. This was exactly what Mr. W. Adam had urged in his reports of 1835-38. He had recommended that all advance in popular education should have its starting-point in the existing indigenous schools, whose teachers were not, in his opinion, unimprovable. The plan suggested by him was that of offering small rewards to teachers for improved teaching. Mr. Ireland, the first Inspector of Schools, brought this plan into operation by distributing improved school books to *gurus*, and by giving small money rewards to such *gurus* as acquitted themselves with credit at the Central Examinations which were instituted for the purpose of measuring their increased capacity for teaching. The improvement of *patshalas* in Assam was attempted by subsidizing village schoolmasters according to the number of boys whom they had under instruction. A third system obtained in certain Districts of Bengal, where rewards in money were given to those teachers who employed improved methods of instruction in their schools.

Growth of the Circle School System.

None of these experiments proved so successful as the Circle School System, which was first tried in the Eastern Districts of Bengal. The scheme was not altogether new. As has been narrated on page 38 it had been originally devised by the Christian Knowledge Society, and it had been noticed with commendation in the Stanley Despatch

of 1859. The underlying idea was to improve three or four schools in comparatively close proximity to one another, by placing their teachers under the supervision of an efficient Chief Guru or Pandit. He was a visiting teacher to each particular group of schools, and while he instructed the upper classes, he also helped the local *guru* in his difficulties, and advanced him in his own studies so that he might the better teach his pupils.

The Hulkabundi System as introduced into the N.-W. Provinces.

So long as the policy had been to promote English education nothing had been done by the Committee of Public Instruction or by the Council of Education for the expansion of the Circle School System. It was left for Mr. Thomason, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, to appreciate the possibilities which the organization offered. In 1843-44 he introduced it into his Province, where it was designated the *Hulkabundi System*. He had the villages grouped in circles, and in each circle a vernacular elementary school was established under the direct management of Government. This model school was so situated that its teacher could without difficulty supervise the work being done in the other schools in the circle. The funds for the support of the Central School were obtained, with the sanction of the Board of Directors, by the imposition of a one per cent. school-cess in all new settlements, and was so calculated as to fall half on the proprietor and half on the Government. The rules framed for the manipulation of these revenues were included in what were known as the Saharanpur Settlement Rules. The Collector either determined the number of schools on the particular area, and distributed the cost of maintenance over the revenue equivalent percentage; or, if he considered the one per cent. of the revenue a fair cess, he related his expenditure on the schools to the amount which this percentage realized; or he took into account the wants and capabilities of the several circle schools, and dealt

separately with each. The salaries of the teachers of the central schools varied from Rs. 36 to Rs. 60 per annum.

Circle Schools introduced into Bengal in 1856.

From the North-West Provinces the Circle School System spread to the Punjab and to other parts of British India, but it was not introduced into Bengal as an agency recognized by Government till 1856, when Mr. Woodrow gave it a trial in the Eastern Districts. The Bengal Report of Education in 1863-64 stated that the system was working with considerable success, but that the schools which it comprised were not being attended mainly by the lower orders, nor could they be regarded as in any sense the representatives of pre-existing indigenous schools, since very few such schools were found in the Districts where the scheme had been introduced. But, however that may be, the Circle Schools prospered. They had advantages over the grant-in-aid schools because the aid given to subsidized schools was a fixed sum which remained constant from year to year, whereas the Government contribution to Circle Schools was liable to increase. Further, in many cases the top classes were peripatetic with the Head Pandits, and by this means the Circle Schools were economically brought up to the standard of aided schools, and many of their pupils gained vernacular scholarships.

How Gurus were recruited for Normal Schools.

Mention has been made of the establishment of Normal Schools at Hooghly, Dacca, Calcutta and Gauhati. The following measures were introduced to secure recruits for training, and for inducing villagers to desire trained teachers in their *patshalas*. The villages where an elementary school already existed, or where it was contemplated to start one, were invited to send for a year's training in a Normal School either their present *guru* or some other person (ordinarily a relative of the *guru*) whom they undertook to receive as their future schoolmaster. Their nominee, if accepted by the Inspector, was thereupon admitted into a Normal School on a stipend of Rs. 5 a month. A

written agreement was entered into, on the one hand, with the heads of the villages that they would receive him back as their *guru* when he had completed his one year's training and had received a certificate of qualifications, and on the other hand, with the nominee himself to the effect that he would return to the village which selected him, and there enter upon and discharge the duties of village schoolmaster to the best of his ability, on condition of being secured a monthly income of not less than Rs. 5 in the shape of stipend or reward so long as he continued to deserve it.

Schools were being aided by fixed monthly Grants.

This scheme, it will be observed, was not yet one of payment-by-results, but one of fixed stipends. It aimed at directly interesting the villagers in the establishment and improvement of their schools. It likewise provided in a measure for the support of pupil-teachers while they were under training, and for the augmentation of the remuneration of trained teachers—the two lines on which elementary education had advanced in England. The system made rapid progress in Bengal, and was approved by the Secretary of State for India in July 1864 for general adoption throughout the Presidency.

Spread of Vernacular Education.

The expansion of education between 1855 and 1863 was considerable, as will be seen from the following Table :—

Class of School.	January 1855.		April 1863.	
	No. of Schools.	No. of Pupils.	No. of Schools.	No. of Pupils.
Anglo-Vernacular	47	7,412	219	21,381
Vernacular	26	1,141	468	24,082
Indigenous, Circle, etc.	0	0	530	22,625

Thus while English Schools had increased by 200 per cent. Vernacular Schools had advanced by 2,000 per cent. In spite of this, the official papers of the day tell us "the old preference for English appears to be as strong as ever.

Whenever an aided Vernacular School increases sufficiently in prosperity, the first step of the Managers is to have it converted into an Anglo-Vernacular Institution."

The "Filtration Doctrine" revived.

The Vernacular Schools had consistently been designed for the labouring and agricultural classes, but somehow they had been appropriated by the middle orders. In his Annual Report for 1863-64 the Director of Public Instruction represented that various plans had been devised and tried for bringing school instruction to bear upon the lower grades of the people, but the result had almost uniformly been that the schools which had been organized or improved for their benefit had been taken possession of and monopolized by classes who stood higher in the social scale. In truth, the efforts to improve the indigenous village schools had failed, and the few schools established by Government as models of good vernacular education to a limited number of pupils of a higher social grade, had no effect whatever in raising the level of the indigenous schools below them. It was probably the apparent hopelessness of really advancing popular education by direct means that kept alive the theory that education must filter downwards, and that it was impossible to reach the lower strata of the people at all until the upper strata had been dealt with. "They will be our schoolmasters, translators, and authors; none of which functions the poor man with his scanty stock of knowledge is able to perform. They are the leaders of the people. By adopting them first into our system we shall be able to proceed a few years hence with an abundant supply of proper books and instructors, and with all the wealth and influence of the country on our side, to establish a general system of education which shall afford every person of every rank the means of acquiring that degree of knowledge which his leisure will permit."

As in former years, so also now, this "filtration theory" had its supporters and opponents. For example, Babu

Kissori Chand Mitter, speaking at a meeting of the British Indian Association in the year 1868, said:—"The lower strata of the social fabric must be permeated through the higher strata. That the downward filtration has commenced is abundantly evidenced by the immense number of schools and *patshalas* already established since the Despatch of the Court of Directors came into operation. Educate the upper and middle classes, and the lower classes will be instructed and elevated." To this the Rev. Lal Behari Day crushingly replied:—"This theory of the 'downward filtration of education,' however flattering to the pride of the higher classes, has never been verified in history. . . . In India, the higher classes, or rather the highest class, the Brahmans, were an educated class a thousand years before the Christian era, and yet during the last hundred generations, not a drop of knowledge has descended to the thirty millions. And if *now* some of the lower classes, I mean the Sudras, have received the benefits of knowledge, no thanks to the Brahmanical filter, from which not a single drop oozed out for thirty centuries, but to the philanthropy and common sense of the Anglo-Saxon who dug out separate tanks of knowledge for the refreshment of the middle classes. In this country knowledge never 'filtered' from the higher classes. The fact is, the upper class filter, in India at any rate, is not a filter, but a jar hermetically sealed. And hence it is, to vary a figure, that while a Brahman Dives is faring sumptuously every day and luxuriating on logic, metaphysics and theology, the Sudra Lazarus is positively dying of starvation, in vain expecting a few crumbs to fall from his lord's table."*

* "I dislike," wrote Lord Mayo to a friend, "this filtration theory. In Bengal we are educating in English a few hundred Babus at great expense to the State. Many of them are well able to pay for themselves, and have no other object in learning than to qualify for Government employment. In the meanwhile we have done nothing towards extending knowledge to the million. If you wait till the bad English, which the 400 Babus learn in Calcutta, filters down into the 40 millions of Bengal, you will be ultimately a Silurian rock instead of a retiring judge. Let the Babus learn English by all means. But let us also try to do something towards teaching the three R's. to Rural Bengal."—*Life of Lord Mayo*—Hunter.

*The Vernacular Language is made the Medium of Instruction
in Middle English and Middle Vernacular Schools.*

The Anglo-Vernacular Schools and the Vernacular Schools of the Hardinge type occupied the field up to 1877. In the former schools English was the sole medium of instruction, although the Vernaculars had a place in the curriculum. The pupils of both classes of schools competed for two separate groups of scholarships, for which there were separate budget allotments. In 1877, however, an important change was effected. All Middle Schools were placed on a Vernacular basis, that is to say, it became the rule that the Vernacular was to be the medium of instruction ; the text-books were to be in the every-day language of the people ; and English was to be learnt merely as a language. Candidates for both classes of scholarships—Middle English and Middle Vernacular—were henceforth examined by the same papers ; and candidates for the Middle English Scholarships had to offer English as an additional subject. It has been related that the ambition of every prosperous Vernacular School was to be raised to the Middle English status. The new system had the advantage of making the gradation a natural step, and one that did not interrupt the studies of pupils.

Government Middle English Schools started at advanced Villages.

In course of time the distinction between the Hardinge schools, the Halliday schools, and the other Government Vernacular schools faded away ; and when the Director of Public Instruction took stock of them in 1883-84 he found that there were 182 Government Vernacular schools, some of which were advanced and flourishing institutions in populous places, while the great majority of them were situated in backward parts where they were doing duty as pioneer schools. Mr. (afterwards Sir) Alfred W. Croft, the Director of Public Instruction at the time, felt that the new developments which primary, and especially upper primary, education had experienced, had entirely altered the position

of these model vernacular schools in the general education system. He pointed out that the orders of 1877 constituting Middle English Schools on a Vernacular basis were intended to have a twofold result—to improve and consolidate the teaching in the middle schools, and to encourage Vernacular Middle Schools to add an English class, and thus eventually become Middle English Schools. *Per contra*, it was possible for a Middle English School, which had fallen upon evil times, to become a Middle Vernacular School instead of perishing utterly. This mutual convertibility of English and Vernacular schools of the middle grade had been greatly helped by the scholarship rules of 1882. These rules permitted candidates of Middle English or Middle Vernacular Schools indifferently to compete for vernacular scholarships or certificates. There was therefore no reason whatever why strong Middle Vernacular Schools should not teach English, seeing that there was an universal demand for some knowledge of that language. Where there was no scope for English to be taught, it was apparent that an Upper Primary School sufficed for the locality. With the opening of Upper Primary Schools in all the advanced villages, the Middle Vernacular Schools were becoming less important, and they could maintain or increase their importance only by offering the people facilities for acquiring an elementary knowledge of English. When primary schools were few, the theory of the Government model schools was that they were to be planted in backward parts until they had paved the way for aided schools to succeed them, and then themselves be transplanted to parts still more backward to repeat the same process. But in 1883-84 the “backward parts” of the middle region of education was being overrun by upper primary schools. It was therefore necessary to look for some other destination for the Government Model Schools. What destination for them was fitter than that they should do for middle education what zilla schools had done for higher education? They should be converted into models of their grade of

instruction in its best form and in its highest standard, in both the vernacular and English languages. Consequently, the proper location for such schools was the most advanced village, provided the village could not itself maintain in thorough efficiency a school of the same or of a higher class. Such a village would be one that was ripe for the introduction of English, and would be willing to pay the additional expense which an English school involved. The Government grant to it would continue as heretofore at Rs. 25 a month, and the school would be established at that village which bid highest for it by offering the best house and furniture, and guaranteed the largest contribution from fees and subscriptions. The school would set an example to, and stimulate, all middle vernacular schools, and would do far more for the progress of middle education than could ever be effected by the establishment of a higher type of school in villages whose needs were amply answered by an upper primary school. Similar considerations applied to aided middle vernacular schools. Many of them, it was felt, would be teaching English but for the fear that they would lose their grant. The Director desired that pains should be taken to dispel their apprehension on this score ; for "no school," he declared, "will lose its grant by reason of its teaching not only all it undertook to teach, but more besides."* The Government accepted the Director's scheme, and the grant-in-aid rules introduced the condition that the additional expense involved in converting a Middle Vernacular School into a Middle English School was not to fall on the Department.

Sir George Campbell's dealings with Primary Education.

The decentralization of finances in 1871-72, having brought an accession of means, the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir George Campbell, made a special effort to extend the influence of primary education. In laying down a general plan for the development of elementary schools in Bengal,

* This may well be noted, for there do occur instances in which local officers deprive a school of its grant the moment it begins to move up the educational ladder.

the Government first and foremost adopted the Normal School System. Next, the aid afforded to schools was made dependent upon the results achieved by pupils at examinations. Thirdly, schools were graded as Lower Primary and Upper Primary. And, fourthly, the Chief Guru System was introduced. (See page 101.)

District Training Schools.

The District Training Schools had courses of studies shorter and of a lower standard than the Training Schools that existed at Hooghly, Dacca, Calcutta and Gauhati. To each was attached a Practising School. A stipend of not less than Rs. 5 was provided for the pupil-teachers. The reading of manuscripts was substituted for the History of Bengal and Geography.

Formation of District Committees of Public Instruction.

But the greatest of all changes brought about by the consultations of the Decentralization Commission was the entire decentralization of educational control. In each District a District Committee of Public Instruction was established to manage and supervise all ordinary Government schools, and to distribute to schools the sum allotted to the District for educational grants-in-aid. The constitution of the Committee was—

*In Regulation Districts.**

Commissioner, President.
Magistrate, Vice-President.
Joint Magistrate.
Inspector of Schools.
Principal of College, or
Head Master of High
School, if any.
Deputy Inspector of Schools.

In Non-Regulation Districts.

Commissioner, President.
Deputy Commissioner, Vice-
President.
Assistant Commissioner.
Inspector of Schools.
Principal of College, or
Head Master of High
School, if any.
Deputy Inspector of Schools.

* The Local Self-Government Act of 1882 terminated the career of District Committees in the Scheduled Districts. They continue a nominal existence in the Non-Regulation Districts of Darjeeling, Singhbhum and the Southal Pergunnahs.

The Vice-President was to be the active head of the Committee, and was to conduct the educational affairs of the District through the Deputy Inspector of Schools and the Secretary to the Committee, subject, of course, to the Resolutions of the Committee. The Sub-Inspectors working in Sub-Divisions were to be placed under the control of Sub-Divisional Officers, who were to co-operate with Educational Sub-Committees, which in their turn were to be subordinate to the District Committee of Public Instruction. The grants-in-aid to High and Middle Schools were to be made by the District Magistrate or the Deputy Commissioner in accordance with the recommendations of the Committee on the advice of the Inspector of Schools; while, similarly, grants to primary schools were to be distributed to these schools in consultation with the Deputy Inspector.* The Provincial Government was to specify what sum of money was to be utilized in assisting Primary Education. In 1873 all grant-in-aid schools were removed from the control of District Committees and transferred to the management of their own school Committees under the supervision of the Inspector.

Introduction of Payments-by-Results.

In the end it amounted to this, that every District Officer began to control, as he thought best, the primary assignment placed at his disposal. Mr. (afterwards Sir) Henry L. Harrison, District Magistrate of Midnapore, initiated the regulation of grants by taking into account the results of individual pupils in the examinations conducted by officers of the Education Department. The idea was not a new one. The Education Board (England) had made it the basis of the grant-in-aid system as set forth in the Revised Code of 1862. To this course

* It is commonly believed that the Department of Public Instruction has always been responsible for Primary Education. The Resolution of Government on the General Report of Public Instruction in Bengal for 1887-88 states :— "Primary education since its introduction has never been placed under the control of departmental Inspectors, but of Magistrates and local committees."

they had been actuated by the Report of the Newcastle Commission (1861) which declared that the only way to secure improvements in elementary schools was "to institute a searching examination by competent authority of every child in every school to which grants are to be paid, . . . and to make the prospects and position of the teacher dependent, to a considerable extent, on the results of this examination." Mr. Harrison pointed out that there was already in existence a very large number of indigenous schools, and that in proceeding to establish new *patshalas* without first bringing existing ones under control "we should cause many of these indigenous schools to close in the hope of reopening as Government *patshalas*." He also brought to notice a new feature of Government subvention of *patshalas*, which had not struck others with equal force. "There is no doubt," he remarked, "that the people contribute in a much more niggardly manner to the support of the stipendiary *guru*, than they do to the *gurus* unpaid by Government." * He moreover expressed the belief that "even the indigenous school now to be taken in hand will have to be lowered, not in the quality of education, but in the object aimed at by the pupils." The Government decided to give Mr. Harrison a free hand, and when in 1873 Sir George Campbell instituted primary scholarships, it was expressly provided "that in order to keep down the standard of *patshalas* their courses of instruction should be confined to reading and writing the vernacular of the District ; arithmetic, written and mental ; bazar and zemindari accounts, and simple mensuration.

The Organization incidental to the Payment-by-Results System.

The system of aiding schools in proportion to the quantity and quality of their work as ascertained by the results achieved by their pupils at formal examinations, found favour in all Districts. It naturally involved

* In the Quinquennial Report for 1902-07 it is stated "the aid which they (*gurus*) receive is insufficient for them to subsist upon, and villagers tell them that as they are being paid by Government, they cannot expect to be paid also by parents."

the institution of tests which would not only provide a basis upon which the rewards payable to *gurus* might be equitably calculated, but it also enable pupils to compete for the scholarships and prizes placed within their reach. Every District was accordingly marked out, for convenience of examination, into Circles and Sub-Circles, and sub-committees of four or five members were appointed, with the Chief Guru as Assistant Secretary, for the double purpose of helping in the conduct of the examinations, and of generally promoting the cause of popular education by identifying themselves with its expansion. The examinations were two in number—a sub-centre examination for determining the rewards earned by *gurus*, and a central (or prize) examination for adjudicating scholarships and prizes to the most deserving pupils. The examinations at the sub-centres were conducted *in situ*, and were partly oral and partly written. The subjects of examination were (1) Reading and Writing, (2) Arithmetic, written and mental, (3) Zemindari and Mahajani Accounts and (4) Dictation and Explanation of Passages. The other examination, the Central Examination, was held at a convenient place, and required a more advanced knowledge of the above subjects to which was added Mensuration. In the case of the first and second subjects enumerated, the standard was divided into “higher” and “lower.” The reward paid to the teacher for each pupil who passed by the former was one rupee, and for each who passed by the latter, eight annas. One rupee was the reward for each pupil who passed in Accounts. For satisfying the examiners in Dictation and the Explanation of Passages, the reward was Rs. 2 to pupil and teacher alike. In addition a special prize was given in every group of 50 candidates examined. For girls the rewards for the first three subjects were doubled. Then there were rewards in small sums of money for “register-keeping and stability of school,” so that the earnings of the less fortunate *gurus* might in some slight measure be augmented. In 1876-77 for the first primary examination there

were 11,462 candidates from 3,110 schools in Bengal* and 5,246 satisfied the examiners. In 1880-81 there were 26,293 candidates from 7,887 schools, and 13,951 candidates acquitted themselves with success; that is to say, more than half the indigenous schools which in 1876-77 had been brought under control had in 1880-81 advanced to the full primary scholarship standard.

The Nagri and Kaithi Script officially introduced into Behar Courts.

In passing it may be mentioned that primary schools in Behar were able to adopt the payment-by-results scheme because in 1880 the employment of the Nagri or Kaithi script in Courts was officially authorized. Hitherto the *pandits* had been under the necessity of teaching the pupils of one and the same school two and even three different alphabets; and the reading lessons had been given from books in which the characters familiar to each particular boy were used. But for the introduction of a common script, the payment-by-results system could not have been extended to the Hindi-speaking people of Behar.

Annual Income of Gurus.

Speaking in general terms, the payment-by-results system brought the teacher of a primary aided school an annual grant of about Rs. 9-8-0. This was augmented by his receipts from fees, say Rs. 34 per year, and further by payments in kind (*sidhas*). Once or twice a week pupils presented their *guru* with small quantities of rice, pulse, vegetable, oil, spice, tobacco and firewood.† It was also customary for them to give him larger gifts, *e.g.*, a piece of cloth, on special occasions, such as a marriage in the family,

* In 1854-55 the only Departmental elementary schools were in Assam. They numbered 69 and instructed 3,279 pupils. In 1862-63 the number of this class of schools in the Province had risen to 530 with 22,625 scholars. These schools were originally designated "Lower Vernacular Schools," and were classed in the secondary school system. In 1875 a new set of scholarships was created for them. In 1881 the indigenous schools were designated Lower Primary Schools, and the Lower Vernacular Schools were called Upper Primary Schools. In that year the latter schools were returned as 1,700 in number with 60,000 pupils. Of them 1,130 presented 2,930 pupils at the Lower Vernacular Examination, and 1,677 were successful. Each school cost Government on an average Rs. 52 a year.

† In 1908 the writer found it the established custom in parts of Chota Nagpur for pupils every Saturday—hence the offerings were called "Sanichara"—to bring their teacher some of the daily necessities of life. The monthly tuition fees ranged from *nil* to two annas.

or when the pupil began to write on paper, or was promoted from a lower to a higher class in the school. The money value of the *sidhas* may possibly have been twice the yield of fees. This being conceded, the gross income of a *patshala* teacher was about Rs. 9 a month. But however that may be, one important fact stands out prominently, and that is, that the primary schools were essentially schools maintained by the people for themselves.

Some collateral Effects of the Payment-by-Results System.

Although it was claimed that the payment-by-results system had “galvanized the indigenous mechanism of education into new life by infusing into it a healthy spirit of competition,” it unfortunately also led to the comparative neglect of mental arithmetic and of some of the other old subjects of *patshala* instruction in favour of undue attention to slate-arithmetic and the reading of printed books. In his Report for 1880-81 the Director of Public Instruction thus refers to this backsliding:—“Readiness and rapidity of calculation have been the pride of *patshala* pupils and the strength of the *patshala* instruction for many generations ; and we shall have altogether failed to make the best use of the materials at our command unless we preserve and confirm their most useful elements. It is only on condition that these are retained that our interference with the *patshalas* can be really justified. . . . The old *patshala* course was directly determined by the daily wants of an individual, and taught him just so much as he might stand in need of at any moment in order to guard himself against fraud or loss. The blessings of education will not be of much value to him if they involve the diminution of his personal security and of his means of private defence.”

*The growth of the Payment-by-Results System
outstrips the Supply of Funds by Government.*

The drawbacks of the payment-by-results system just alluded to were aggravated within a few years by the failure of the Provincial Allotment for Primary Education to keep pace with the increasing demands made upon it.

“The growth of that system,” observes the Director of Public Instruction in his Report for 1880-81, “has been so rapid, that the funds which were ample four or five years ago have now become wholly inadequate. The best of the *gurus*, who were then encouraged to improve themselves and their schools by the prospect of receiving rewards of Rs. 60 to Rs. 70 at the yearly examination, now earn hardly half that sum, while the earnings of the poorer class of teachers are reduced to the merest pittance. . . . We can hardly hope to control and improve the course of study in primary schools throughout the country, unless we have some more substantial inducements to offer.”

A Remedy attempted.

Since larger funds were not forthcoming, the Director was obliged to cast about from a position in which the means at his disposal would cease to be incommensurate with the capacity of pupils and teachers to earn rewards. He accordingly stiffened the rules regulating the award of money-prizes. It came under his observation that the vast majority of pupils in the Lower Primary Schools read no printed books whatever, and that, at any rate in Behar and Orissa, a large proportion of the *gurus* or *abdhans* were themselves unable to read print. Further, in Eastern Bengal there were numbers of *maktabs* which received aid on condition that some elements of secular instruction were in them added to the reading of the Koran Sharif. He therefore resolved to withdraw aid from schools which refused, or were unable, to teach the vernacular through the medium of printed pages. He likewise resolved to recognize in the examinations for rewards only those classes and standards that read printed matter. This decision called for the readjustment of the structure of Upper Primary Schools, and it was therefore ordered that in them there should be two standards, and two only, as defined below:—

A (or Higher Standard.)

- (1) *Reading*—50 pages of Bodhoday, or an equivalent book; dictation; hand-writing;

reading from manuscript, *e.g.*, kabuliyats, pottas, receipts, forms of contract; repetition of prose and verse.

- (2) The first four simple rules of Arithmetic by the English method.
- (3) Subhankari, including the tables of weights, measures and wages, and bazar accounts by the Indian method.
- (4) Mental Arithmetic, after European and Indian methods.

B (or Lower Standard.)

- (1) *Reading*—a printed primer, such as Sishu-siksha, Part III, or an equivalent book; dictation; hand-writing; repetition of prose or verse.
- (2) Tables of rupees, annas, pies, maunds, seers, etc.; with their written signs after the Indian method.
- (3) Mental Arithmetic by the Indian method.

It was arranged to limit the payment of teachers in future to rewards for those pupils who passed in full by these two standards. Where the postal system was available the rewards were remitted by postal money order. This was a great improvement upon the former employment of Sub-Inspectors to distribute the rewards to *gurus* assembled at a convenient centre to submit their annual returns, and receive their rewards.

The Chief Guru System.

The impetus to improve which had been given to the pre-existing Departmental *patshalas* of 1863-64—to improve in order that their pupils might earn for them increased grants by their success at the scholarship examinations,—resulted in the introduction of the Chief Guru System. Not only did primary schools desire to become more and more efficient, but they with the indigenous schools aggregated too many schools for proper inspection by the Sub-Inspectors. A partial, and at that unsatisfactory, solution of the

difficulty was sought in permitting *patshalas* to be inspected at central gatherings. That the merits and defects of the *patshalas* collected for the purpose of inspection could not be ascertained as effectively as when the schools were visited individually and *in situ*, was freely admitted. An increase in the number of Sub-Inspectors was proposed ; but Government was not prepared to sanction it. An expedient was therefore resorted to in Behar from where it was extended to other parts of the Province. Every District was subdivided into circles composed of a group of neighbouring *patshalas*, and the best of the stipendiary *gurus* was denominated Chief Guru, and the circle was called by the name of the village in which the Chief Guru held his *patshala*. Returns were invited from the indigenous unaided *patshalas* on the promise of a small reward of one rupee for each return. The returns were collected by the *guru* of the nearest aided *patshala*, and he corrected them before sending them in to the Inspector. All unaided schools that submitted returns were supplied with Attendance Registers at the nominal charge of two annas, and the Deputy Inspector then included the schools at his half-yearly examination of *patshalas* at central gatherings. In this way the smallest schools hidden away in the remotest corners of a District were brought to light, and encouraged by the attentions of the Chief Guru. He informed them of the examinations as these became due ; paid them the stipends or rewards that became payable to them ; and helped them to prepare their statistical reports, etc. It was his duty occasionally to visit the *patshalas* in his circle, to help their *gurus* in their work, and personally to teach the more advanced pupils. He had the *patshalas* well in hand, and whenever the Director of Public Instruction determined to intervene more directly and effectively in the control and improvement of the schools, the Chief Guru System enabled him to do so by the organization which it had established. Up to the year 1880-81 the system had been introduced into sixteen Districts which together returned

21,993 aided Lower Primary Schools with 263,811 pupils. The estimated expenditure of Government on primary education in these Districts in the same year was Rs. 1,32,782.

The Merits of the Chief Guru System.

It was claimed that the Chief Guru System had helped to find very approximately the extent of the outer circle of indigenous education within which lay the inner circle covered by the departmental system of primary instruction. Moreover, by its means a link had been established between the most rudimentary school and the Inspecting Officers in full accordance with the traditions of the people. The Education Commission of 1882-83 thus alluded to the usefulness of the system :—“ This auxiliary supervision is described by the Government of Bengal as supplying a close network of organization. It has been the means of bringing under Departmental control a large number of indigenous schools ; and though at best an imperfect substitute for a larger staff of regular inspecting officers, it will always have its use.”

*The Chief Guru replaced by the Guru Instructor,
or Inspecting Pandit as he is also called.*

In a short time it became apparent that the Chief Guru could not visit the lower primary and indigenous schools in his Circle without neglecting the Upper Primary School of which he was Head Pandit. To preserve continuity of narrative, it is necessary to anticipate the year 1891, when a remedy was found in the elevation of the Chief Guru to the grade of Inspecting, or rather “ teaching ” Agent, known as the Guru Instructor, or Inspecting Pandit. As such his connection with any individual school was severed. His authorized pay was Rs. 15 a month with a fixed monthly travelling allowance of Rs. 5, which was paid from the Primary Allotment of District Boards.*

* In recent years the subordinate Inspecting Staff has been considerably augmented, and the necessity of retaining Inspecting Pandits has been questioned. The general opinion would seem to be that their scope should be limited to instructing untrained *gurus*, as distinct from inspecting *patshalas*. In districts in which they have been abolished as a grade of educative agents, it is said that the *patshalas* have declined in efficiency.

Committee appointed to examine the Text-Books used in aided Schools.

In March of 1873 the Government of India passed a Resolution requesting all Provincial Governments "to appoint committees to examine and report upon the class books that are now prescribed in all those schools which receive formal support from the State, in order to discover the defects either in form or substance, and adopt more carefully the course of authorized reading to the general educational policy."

The Bengal Text-Book Committee prepared a catalogue of the books which were in use in the Province. The list showed that there were in the Bengali language—

564 Readers.	62 Works on Physics.
94 Dictionaries.	89 Medical Works.
91 Grammars, etc.	91 Law Books.
66 Geographies.	18 Books on Social Science.
121 Histories.	28 Books on Art.
42 Philosophical Treatises.	11 Works on Education.
136 Mathematical Works.	76 Miscellaneous Literature.

There were also 35 Magazines and Periodicals, and 54 Newspapers.

*Vernacular Authorship always honoured in Bengal
and in no need of Government Patronage.*

Most of the books examined were original compositions or adaptations, and only a very few of them were translations from English. One of the fond hopes of the General Committee of Public Instruction was that by imparting an English Education to the upper and middle classes of society, there would arise those who would pass on to the masses of the people in their own tongue knowledge which had been acquired from English books. This hope, therefore, was not appreciably realized. "The fact is, Vernacular authorship was always much honoured in Bengal. It was at first taken up by such leaders of society as Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Sir Radha Kanta Deb and the Hon'ble Prasana Kumar Tagore, and then in the next generation by such ripe scholars as Dr. K. M. Banerjea,

Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra and Pandit Iswar Chunder Vidyasagar. Bengali authorship was in the hands of those who felt an impulse to write, without any stimulus being supplied by Government other than the English education received at its hands, and the influx of new ideas that followed upon such education. The Bengali language had already produced some works of original merit ; and there were signs that professional writers who meant to live by their writings were coming into existence, together with their usual accompaniments of publishing firms. The literary activity awakened was such that, the Director was able to say in reference to the preparation of school books in Bengal, 'it is not necessary that any money payments should be offered to secure the improved books required. A good school book is a valuable property, which brings considerable remuneration to the author, and therefore requires no aid on the part of Government.' " * All that was requisite, therefore, was to exercise a fostering supervision over vernacular literature, and to see that public instruction required the education of the people not only in what were their rights as citizens but also in what were their duties to the State.

Text-Book Committees appointed in each Province.

In April 1877 a Conference on text-books was held at Simla, and its deliberations led to the constitution of standing Text-Book Committees for the examination of school books in the different Provinces. Following upon the appointment of the Committee for Bengal an attempt was made in that Province to bring out a new and uniform series of text-books for use in the vernacular schools. In Bengal the attempt failed, because in some cases the new books were close translations of English originals, whereas the urgency of the translations had in fact long gone by. The case was somewhat different in Behar and Orissa where there was less literary activity. In Behar several

* Report of the Provincial Committee, Bengal, 1881-82.

authors translated Bengali works into Hindu, and in Orissa Bengali works into Uriya.

Lord Ripon's attention invited to the State of Education in India.

On the eve of the Marquis of Ripon's departure from England to assume in India the exalted office of Governor-General, the General Council of Education in India, whose headquarters were in London, presented him with an address in which they prayed him to institute an enquiry into the extent to which the Despatch of 1854 had been carried into effect. In his reply to the deputants, he said, "The Despatch lays down clearly and forcibly the broad lines of the true educational policy for India, and upon those lines it will be my desire to work It will be my duty when I get out to India, to examine all such matters carefully in the light of the information which will then be at my disposal; but I do not think that I shall be guilty of any indiscretion if I tell you even now how much I sympathize with your desire to promote the extension of elementary education among the poorer classes. This has been an especial object of interest to me for many years in England; it will not be less so in India."

Appointment of the Indian Education Commission of 1882.

The new Viceroy had not been in India many months when he set about testing from local sources the statements which had been made to him by the Council. Satisfied that a case for inquiry had been established by the comparative neglect of the education of the masses, and by the disproportionate expenditure on higher education, with the hearty concurrence of Lord Hartington, Secretary of State for India, on the 3rd February, 1882, he appointed an Education Commission of Enquiry whose "duty should be to inquire into the manner in which effect had been given to the Despatch of 1854, and to suggest such methods as it might think desirable, with a view to more completely carrying out the policy laid down therein."

CHAPTER VI.

*The Indian Education Commission of 1882.**The Growth of English public Interest in the Affairs of the East India Company.*

The Association of England with India has known three well-defined periods—the periods of trade, conquest and legislation—graphically symbolized each by its respective device, the ell-wand, the sword, and the sceptre. As every one is aware the English originally came to India for purposes of trade, and trade only. But by the combination of circumstances and the sequence of events familiar to the student of history, they ultimately found themselves ruling extensive Indian territories, which not only provided them with the conditions favourable to the expansion of an already lucrative trade, but also augmented their dividends through the collection of ample land-revenues. It was a dangerous experiment—the share-holders of a great commercial organization, making rules and regulations; sailing merchantmen and battle-ships; raising revenues and signing treaties; declaring war and concluding peace; uncrowning Indian Princes and setting up English Governors—in brief, wielding powers larger than those of the King of England himself, and exercising them without responsibility to a suzerain Government. The position was obviously one which, sooner or later, was bound to be challenged; and accordingly when in 1793 the Company's Charter was presented for renewal, it was modified in terms of the Regulating Act, which established the Board of Control, and thereby asserted the principle that the representatives of the Company were answerable to the English people for the good government of India. Thus was inaugurated the policy that the affairs of India were, in the future, to be administered also for ethical ends, and not as hitherto merely for the enrichment of a few debenture-holders. As years rolled on, this policy developed into the "one increasing purpose"

of all subsequent parliamentary legislation; so that in 1813, the Company's monopoly of trade with India was abolished, and finally its territorial possessions were assumed by the Sovereign of England. How completely India had passed from Company to Crown was made manifest by Queen Victoria's benevolent Proclamation of 1858.

The Origin of the General Council of Education in India.

The termination of the career of the East India Company, and the resulting stupendous change in the destiny of India, were wrought by Parliament. True. But the initiative and the impulse came from the people of Britain—from those who had ransomed African slaves from the degradation of bondage; and who, in Christian charity, had sent forth missionaries to the Far East. May and Pearson were but the forerunners of a legion of devoted men and unselfish women who came from the shores of Albion to labour for the uplifting of India and her children. In the 1870's many of them who had retired to the home-land constituted themselves into the General Council of Education in India, and stimulated public interest in missionary endeavour, religious and secular, by publishing pamphlets, delivering lectures, and conducting revival meetings. Upon all persons connected with the Government of India, they perseveringly pressed the urgency of ever-increasing efforts to banish illiteracy from the land; and, as we have seen at the end of the last chapter, they petitioned Lord Ripon, the newly-appointed Governor-General, to be pleased to enquire into the extent to which effect had been given, and was being given, to the principles enunciated by the Educational Despatch of 1854.

*Some Points in the Petition of the General Council
of Education in India to Lord Ripon.*

The authors of the petition pointed out that whereas in England almost one-twentieth of the revenues was being expended upon the education of the people, in India the

proportion was only one-eightieth:* that whereas in England the cost of education worked out to 2s. 6d. per head of population, in India it was less than 1d. a head. They also drew attention to the fact that there was, on the average of all India, only one institution for every 14 square miles of country; and that, while in England, about 160 children in every thousand were at school, in India the figure was only nine. They further observed that the department for primary education in India had been carried on so feebly† that it had not kept pace with the natural increase in population, and that “notwithstanding what has been done during the last twenty-seven years, we are further from undertaking the education of the masses of the people than when we began; for while we did not add 50,000 a year to our schools, the birth-rate added nearly 200,000 children of school age to the population of the country,” so that “in 1881 there were more millions of uneducated children than in 1854, the year of the great Educational Despatch.”‡

The line taken by the General Council of Education in India in drawing a parallel between the condition of primary instruction in India and in England, was a proceeding entirely novel to India; for the progress of education in that country had hitherto been treated as parochial, and the practice had been to compare the advance of education in one Province with its expansion in

* “At present the Government spends £27 9s. on the education of each of the 8,331 graduates in their (Indian) colleges, only a fraction of whom ever take a degree, and on each of the 640,000 boys in lower and middle schools the sum of 2s. 10½d., while 14,000,000 are left uncared for.”—*Our Educational Policy in India*—Johnston, 1880.

† “In 1877-78 only £730,013 was spent on the entire education of about 200,000,000 of a population, and of that not more than £300,000 on the education of the most needy class. Why, the Government spent that same year, £443,776 on ‘Stationery and Printing.’”—*Our Educational Policy in India*—Johnston.

‡ Hitherto not even the most optimistic legislator had dared to entertain, much less contemplate, the gigantic task of instructing *all* the children of the soil. And yet a hope that they would be eventually educated seems to have been vaguely cherished, among others, by the Duke of Argyll, who wrote to the Viceroy in 1871, “If we can once instil into the real upper classes of India, that one of the main duties of society is to provide sound primary instruction for the humbler classes, we shall lay the real foundation for that general system of education which it is the desire of Your Excellency’s Government to establish.” The “filtration theory” had not yet been discredited, although it had been on trial so many years.

another. But obviously the contrasting of public conditions in England and in India could not stop at education. The comparison had to be extended of necessity in all directions; and it was possibly no mere co-incidence that the Government of India Resolution which foreshadowed the introduction of Local Self-Government into India, synchronized with the appointment of the Education Commission of 1882.

The Personnel and Instructions of the Education Commission of 1882.

Having resolved upon appointing a Commission to enquire into the state of education in India, Lord Ripon was solicitous that it should, above all things, be a truly representative body. He therefore recruited its members from the prominent officials and from the best-known public men in each of the administrative units of British India. Mr. (afterwards Sir) W. W. Hunter was appointed President with Mr. B. L. Rice, Director of Public Instruction in Mysore and Coorg, as Secretary. The Commission was instructed that its duty "should be to enquire into the manner in which effect has been given to the Despatch of 1854, and to suggest such methods as it might think desirable, with a view to more completely carrying out the policy* therein laid down" "For the Government of India," continued Lord Ripon, "is firmly convinced of the soundness of that policy, and has no wish to depart from the principle upon which it is based."

*The Commission gets to work. Its Plan of Operation.
Work assigned to the Provincial Committees.*

The Commissioners assembled in Calcutta for the first time on the 18th of February, 1882, and sat regularly till the 31st March following. Before its first collective

* "The main object of the Despatch is to divert the efforts of the Government from the education of the higher classes, upon whom they had up to that date been too exclusively directed, and to turn them to the wider diffusion of education among all classes of the people, and especially to the provision of primary instruction for the masses." *Parliamentary Blue Book*, 1870.

session was concluded, the members from each Province, official and non-official, were constituted into Provincial Committees.* Each Committee was required to prepare a report furnishing a full presentation of the actual state of education on the 31st of March, 1882, prefaced by a statistical summary of the area and population of the Province as determined by the census of 1881; an account of its physical characteristics; a description of the social condition of the people and of the languages spoken by them; and recommendations for the future of their education. To facilitate the collection of "evidence" the Commissioners drew up a series of questions which were everywhere to be proposed to witnesses, whose examination-in-chief and answers in cross-examination were committed to print. By this procedure a considerable volume of carefully weighed and valuable "evidence" was obtained, recording every shade of opinion on educational conditions and problems. In the course of the eight months which intervened before the reassembling of the Commissioners, the President made a tour of the Provinces, and in each a session of the Provincial Committee was held for the examination of witnesses.

Survey of the Bengal Presidency made by the Bengal Provincial Committee.

The Bengal Provincial Committee made an educational survey of the Presidency of Bengal, comprising as it then did Bengal Proper, Bihar, Orissa and Chota Nagpur. In their report they dwelt on the great extent of the Province, on its varied physical features, on the diverse ethnic elements of its dense population, on the sharply contrasted social and religious condition of its different people, and on the manifold languages spoken within its boundaries—factors which necessarily complicated the already difficult problem of providing suitable education to a population of 69,536,861 souls. They observed that

* The members of the Bengal Provincial Committee were A. W. Croft (Chairman), W. R. Blackett, A. M. Bose, Bhodeb Mookerjee and Jotendro Mohun Tagore.

the people subsisted mainly on vegetables, and that 94 per cent. of them lived in villages. Meanwhile, in England the rural population was only 35 per cent. and in France, pre-eminently an agricultural country, the percentage of the peasantry did not exceed half the total inhabitants of the land. They pointed out that the most striking and important feature in the social economy of Bengal was that its rustic population was far in excess of the requirements of agriculture—there being on an average less than one acre per head. Had it not been for the communistic principles which underlie the Hindu social organization in its village system; had it not been for the caste guilds and the joint-family system, the masses could not have upborne against the pressure of overpopulation even in years of an average harvest. The effects of the density of population were more and more felt in the low standard of living, in the exhaustive processes of agriculture, in the yearly encroachments of arable land upon village commons and pasturage, and in the consequent deterioration of land, of cattle, and of man. From these baneful effects escape, the Committee observed, was not found in emigration, for the people did not readily migrate from one part of India to another—much less to a country beyond the seas.

The Report of the Commission.

The Commission re-assembled in Calcutta on the 5th of December, and continued in session till the 16th of March, 1883: when, having marshalled the information which had been collected, it proceeded to formulate its recommendations. These were included in its final report, the writing of which devolved upon the President, assisted by Mr. A. W. Croft, Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, Rev. W. Miller, Principal of the Madras Christian College, Mr. A. W. Howell, Commissioner of Berar, Mr. W. Lee-Warner, first Assistant Commissioner of Satara, Bombay, and Mr. K. Deighton, Principal of the Agra College. The chapters on vernacular education

which alone are relevant to these pages, were written by Mr. Lee-Warner.

In submitting their Report to the Government of India, the Commissioners made the following Recommendations in respect of elementary vernacular education :—

(1) RECOMMENDATIONS ON INDIGENOUS EDUCATION.

That an indigenous school be defined as one established or conducted by natives of India on native methods.

That all indigenous schools, whether high or low, be recognized and encouraged, if they serve any purpose of secular education whatsoever.

That the best practicable method of encouraging indigenous schools of a high order, and desiring recognition, be ascertained by the Education Departments in communication with Pandits, Maulavis, and others interested in the subject.

That preference be given to that system which regulates the aid given mainly according to the results of examinations.

That special encouragement be afforded to indigenous schoolmasters to undergo training, and to bring their relatives and probable successors under regular training.

That a steady and gradual improvement in indigenous schools be aimed at, with as little immediate interference with their *personnel* or curriculum as possible.

That the standards of examination be arranged to suit each Province, with the view of preserving all that is valued by the people in the indigenous systems, and of encouraging by special grants the gradual introduction of useful subjects of instruction.

That indigenous schools receiving aid be inspected *in situ*, and, as far as possible, the examinations for their grant-in-aid be conducted *in situ*.

That aided indigenous schools, not registered as special schools, be understood to be open to all classes and castes of the community, special aid being, if necessary, assignable on account of low-caste pupils.

That such a proportion between special and other elementary indigenous schools be maintained in each town and district, as to ensure a proportionate provision for the education of all classes.

That where Municipal and Local Boards exist, the registration, supervision, and encouragement of indigenous elementary schools, whether aided or unaided, be entrusted to such Boards ; provided that Boards shall not interfere in any way with such schools as do not desire to receive aid, or to be subject to the supervision of the Boards.

That the aid given to elementary indigenous schools be a charge against the funds at the disposal of Local and Municipal Boards where such exist ; and every indigenous school, which is registered for aid, receive from such Boards the aid to which it is entitled under the rules.

That such Boards be required to give elementary indigenous schools free play and development, and to establish fresh schools of their own only where the preferable alternative of aiding suitable indigenous schools cannot be adopted.

That the local inspecting officers be *ex-officio* members of Municipal or District School-Boards.

That the officers of the Education Department keep lists of all elementary indigenous schools, and assist the Boards in selecting schools to be registered for aid, and in securing a proportionate provision of education for all classes of the community.

(2) RECOMMENDATIONS ON PRIMARY EDUCATION.

That primary education be regarded as the instruction of the masses through the vernacular in such subjects as will best fit them for their position in life, and be not necessarily regarded as a portion of instruction leading up to the University.

That the Upper Primary and Lower Primary examinations be not made compulsory in any Province.

That while every branch of education can justly claim the fostering care of the State, it is desirable, in the present circumstances of the country, to declare the elementary education of the masses, its provision, extension, and improvement, to be that part of the educational system to which the strenuous efforts of the State should now be directed in a still larger measure than heretofore.

That an attempt be made to secure the fullest possible provision for, and extension of, primary education by legislation suited to the circumstances of each Province.

That where indigenous schools exist, the principle of aiding and improving them be recognized as an important means of extending elementary education.

That examinations by inspecting officers be conducted as far as possible *in situ*, and all primary schools receiving aid be invariably inspected *in situ*.

That, as a general rule, aid to primary schools be regulated to a large extent according to the results of examination; but an exception may be made in the case of schools established in backward districts or under peculiar circumstances, which may be aided under special rules.

That school-houses and furniture be of the simplest and most economical kind.

That the standards of primary examinations in each Province be revised with a view to simplification, and to the larger introduction of practical subjects, such as native methods of arithmetic, accounts and mensuration, the elements of natural and physical science, and their application to agriculture, health, and the industrial arts; but that no attempt be made to secure general uniformity throughout India.

That care be taken not to interfere with the freedom of managers of aided schools in the choice of text-books.

That promotion from class to class be not necessarily made to depend on the results of one fixed standard of examinations uniform throughout the Province.

That physical development be promoted by the encouragement of native games, gymnastics, school drill, and other exercises suited to the circumstances of each class of school.

That all inspecting officers and teachers be directed to see that the teaching and discipline of every school are such as to exert a right influence on the manners, the conduct, and the character of the children, and that, for the guidance of the masters, a special manual be prepared.

That the existing rules as to religious teaching in Government schools be applied to all primary schools wholly maintained by Municipal or Local Board Funds.

That the supply of normal schools, whether Government or aided, be so localized as to provide for the local requirements of all primary schools, whether Government or aided, within the Division under each inspector.

That the first charges on Provincial Funds assigned for primary education be the cost of its direction and inspection, and the provision of adequate normal schools.

That pupils in Municipal or Local Boards schools be not entirely exempted from payment of fees, merely on the ground that they are the children of rate-payers.

That in all board-schools, a certain proportion of pupils be admissible as free students on the ground of poverty; and in the case of special schools, established for the benefit of poorer classes, a general or larger exemption from payment of fees be allowed under proper authority for special reasons.

That, subject to the exemption of a certain proportion of students on account of poverty, fees, whether in money or kind, be levied in all aided schools; but the proceeds be left entirely at the disposal of the school-managers.

That the principle laid down in Lord Hardinge's Resolution, dated 11th October 1844, be re-affirmed, *i.e.*, that in selecting persons to fill the lowest offices under Government, preference be always given to candidates who can read and write.

That the Local Governments, especially those of Bombay and of the North-Western Provinces, be invited to consider the advisability of carrying out the suggestion contained in paragraph 96 of the Despatch of 1854, namely, of making some educational qualification necessary to the confirmation of hereditary village officers, such as Patels and Lambardars.

That night schools be encouraged wherever practicable.

That as much elasticity as possible be permitted both as regards the hours of the day and the seasons of the year during which the attendance of scholars is required, especially in agricultural villages in backward districts.

That primary education be extended in backward districts, especially in those inhabited mainly by aboriginal tribes, by the instrumentality of the Department pending the creation of school-boards, or by specially liberal grants-in-aid to those who are willing to set up and maintain schools.

That all primary schools wholly maintained at the cost of the school-boards, and all primary schools that are aided from the same fund and are not registered as special schools, be understood to be open to all castes and classes of the community.

That such a proportion between special and other primary schools be maintained in each school-district as to ensure a proportionate provision for the education of all castes.

That assistance be given to schools and orphanages in which poor children are taught reading, writing and counting, with or without manual work.

That primary education be declared to be that part of the whole system of Public Instruction, which possesses an almost exclusive claim on local funds set apart for education, and a large claim on provincial revenues.

That both Municipal and Local Boards keep a separate school-fund.

That the Municipal school-fund consists of—

- (a) a fair proportion of Municipal revenues, to be fixed in each case by the Local Government ;
- (b) the fees levied in schools wholly maintained at the cost of the Municipal school-fund ;
- (c) any assignment that may be made to the Municipal school-fund from the Local Fund ;
- (d) any assignment from Provincial Funds ;
- (e) any other funds that may be entrusted to the Municipalities for the promotion of education ;
- (f) any unexpended balance of the school-fund from previous years.

That the Local Boards' school-fund consists of—

- (a) a distinct share of the general Local Fund, which share shall not be less than a minimum proportion to be prescribed for each Province ;
- (b) the fees levied in schools wholly maintained at the cost of the school-fund ;
- (c) any contribution that may be assigned by Municipal Boards ;
- (d) any assignment made from Provincial Funds ;
- (e) any other funds that may be entrusted to the Local Boards for the promotion of education ;
- (f) any unexpended balance of the school-fund from previous years.

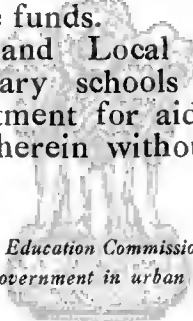
That the general control over primary school-expenditure be vested in the school-boards, whether Municipal or Local, which may now exist or may hereafter be created for self-government in each Province.

That the first appointment of schoolmasters in Municipal or Local board-schools be left to the Town or District Boards, with the proviso that the masters be certificated or approved by the Department, and their subsequent promotion or removal be regulated by the Boards, subject to the approval of the Department.

That the cost of maintaining or aiding primary schools in each school-district, and the construction and repair of Board school-houses, be charged against the Municipal or Local Boards' school-fund so created.

That the Vernacular, in which instruction shall be imparted in any primary school, maintained by any Municipal or Local Board, be determined by the school committee of management, subject to revision by the Municipal or Local Board; provided that if there be any dissenting minority in the community, who represent a number of pupils sufficient to form one or more separate classes or schools, it shall be incumbent on the Department to provide for the establishment of such classes or schools, and it shall be incumbent on such Municipal or Local Boards to assign to such classes or schools a fair proportion of the whole assignable funds.

That Municipal and Local Boards administering funds in aid of primary schools adopt the rules prescribed by the Department for aiding such schools, and introduce no change therein without the sanction of the Department.



*The Recommendations of the Education Commission influenced by the Proposals
to introduce Self-Government in urban and rural Areas.*

The recommendations of the Commission in respect of indigenous and elementary instruction were largely influenced by two important legislative measures which were being elaborated by the Government of India. These were the Bengal Municipal Bill of 1882 and the Local Self-Government Bill of 1881-82. Both these instruments of representative Government proceeded upon the recognition of the Panchayat System which had furnished the folk-motes of India from the earliest times, and which had been preserved with modifications in the District Committees that had been organized during pre-Mutiny years. Lord Ripon decided upon extending the scope and increasing the importance of local bodies, and in his Resolution of the 18th May 1882 he foreshadowed the transfer of primary and indigenous schools from District Committees to District and Local Boards.

Brief Notice of the introduction of municipal Government.

What are Local Self-Government Bill (afterwards Act III B.C. of 1885) contemplated for rural areas, had already been accomplished, on a small scale, in Municipal towns. For, as far back as 1860, Sir John Peter Grant, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, had created a somewhat comprehensive system of Municipal Government in certain selected places. In accordance with it urban affairs had been committed to local bodies, who were empowered to raise funds, and receive grants-in-aid* or public money, for sanitation, lighting, schools, and allied purposes. Later on, Act II (B.C.) of 1873 had authorized Governments to require Municipalities to establish and maintain schools, after providing for roads, conservancy, and similar objects. To enable local bodies to carry out their increased responsibilities, Sir George Campbell, a Lieutenant-Governor whose name will always be associated with the diffusion of elementary education in Bengal, allotted them a sum of four lakhs of rupees for expenditure upon schools, and especially upon primary schools within their jurisdiction.† The next measure introduced for the promotion of primary schools within Municipalities, was the Municipal Bill of 1882. It relieved these bodies of all police charges, on the express understanding that they would devote to education the savings thus effected. Accordingly, whereas in the case of Municipalities the law had hitherto been permissive, and education had been a *legitimate charge* on their income, it was now made an *imperative obligation* on a portion of their revenues.

* The grants for educational purposes were, however, forbidden to be applied to the extension or support of primary vernacular schools or indigenous schools. They were to be expended upon English schools, and upon "vernacular schools of comparatively high order."

† The total allotment for Primary Education in 1872-73 was Rs. 5,30,000. By the 31st March 1873 it had been increased to nearly 8 lakhs, and 10,787 village schools, old and new, with 255,728 scholars had been brought under the Government scheme. By the 31st March 1874 there were 12,229 primary schools and 303,437 pupils.

*The Education Commission graft their Recommendations on the
Measures preparing for Local Self-Government.*

In the policy of Government to make popular education a charge upon Municipal Corporations and rural boards, the Education Commissioners found their opportunity to formulate a system of education which would be fostered and supervised by existing suitable agencies in all parts of the country. "We attach," they wrote in their Report, "great importance to the connection of all agencies of primary education with the scheme of self-government which is being developed in India. Local Boards, whether municipal or rural, are likely to sympathize with the indigenous system where it is valued by the people. In their hands improvement will not involve destruction. They will know what vernacular the village or town population prefer, and what subjects of instruction are practically useful. These Boards will generally be entrusted with the control of elementary education in departmental schools, and their attitude towards indigenous schools will determine the vexed question of the relative popularity of the two systems." The Commissioners were most anxious that the distinctive methods and traditions to which indigenous institutions owed their vitality and popularity should not be banished under the name of improvement. "We recommend," they continued, "that a steady and gradual improvement in such schools be aimed at, with as little immediate interference with their *personnel* and curriculum as possible. In order to carry out this policy, we consider that the standards by which indigenous schools are examined and aided, should be arranged with a view to conserving all that is valued by the people in the indigenous systems, and to the gradual introduction of useful subjects of instruction, which can be encouraged by special grants." This did not mean that primary education in departmental schools was to be discounted or discouraged. What was intended was that

the claims of indigenous schools were to be kept in sight, and that local and municipal boards were to establish new schools of their own, always supposing that the preferable alternative of aiding indigenous schools could not be adopted.

Primary Schools classified as public and special.

Schools which were admitted to the benefits of the grant-in-aid rules, were to be classed as public elementary schools if they received pupils of all classes and castes without distinction, as was being done in government schools. In contrast to them there would be special elementary schools for particular castes or creeds. What was necessary was that such a proportion should be preserved between the two types of schools as would ensure due provision for the education of all classes in each town or district.

This classification of elementary schools introduced no change in the types of schools which already existed in Bengal, and which were practically the same as those that Mr. Adam had described in his Reports. The indigenous schools, or *pathsalas*, were still those which communicated instruction by purely indigenous methods, and taught a strictly utilitarian curriculum—writing, reading, arithmetic and accounts, zemindari papers, and letter-writing, together with versified Puranic tales, and in Bihar versified heroic legends as well. The “non-indigenous schools” survived in the aided and departmental primary schools, in which improved methods were employed in teaching a slightly increased curriculum. The special elementary schools lived on in the *Makhtabs* conducted by Muhammadans for Muhammadans, and in a few stray *pathsalas* which were reserved for aborigines, or Brahmans, or for the children of one or another of the depressed classes and castes.

Indian Conservatism in Indigenous Education.

How little, if at all, the indigenous *pathsalas* had, even so late as 1882, advanced from the condition in

which Mr. Adam had found them, will be evident from the following account* of them in the Report of the Bengal Provincial Committee:—"On entering a *patshala*, a boy writes the letters of the alphabet with a piece of chalk on the ground, repeating the names of the letters as he writes them. After the letters have been thus learnt, palm-leaves are used as materials for writing on with pen and ink, the first attempt being only to ink off the letters as they are traced by the *guru* with a pointed iron stylus. The pupils go on with the palm-leaves, till they learn to write the compound letters, committing to memory at this stage the multiplication table and various fractional tables, and being constantly practised one after another in the several money-tables, weights and measures. Every evening before the *pathsala* breaks up all the children stand together and repeat the tables simultaneously in chorus, or sometimes they follow a monitor's lead. From palm-leaf promotion is given to 'plantain-leaf,' in which *Subhankari*, or native arithmetic, is taught. In most of the *pathsalas*, slates and (in Bihar) *taktis* (boards) are also being used. The scholar is now at liberty to take up paper. He is taught letter-writing, *zemin-dari* and *mahajani* accounts, forms of documents, the versified Puranic tales, and lastly a little Sanskrit grammar, and *abhidhan*. The age at which it is customary for pupils to enter *pathsalas* is five years, on some auspicious day ascertained by the *Purohit*. The stay of the pupil at the school is about five or six years, comprising two full stages of instruction, although cases are not uncommon, in which a boy leaves school after a month or two, having attended in compliance with some customary observance. The *pathsalas* sit during all seasons of the year, long vacations being given in the agricultural villages once during the rains, when the sowing commences, and again at the harvest. The boys generally meet morning and

* The conditions here described still obtained in many parts of Orissa as late as 1906, and of Chota Nagpur in 1908.

evening, working from about six to seven hours a day with short intervals."

Justification of Pathsala Methods.

As it was commonly supposed that the methods of the *pathsala* were rude and primitive ; that in them writing was taught and not reading ; that multiplication to their pupils meant continued addition and division repeated subtraction ; and that rule-of-three was beyond their ken ; the Report of the Bengal Committee hoped that the following considerations would serve to throw some light on the actual character of the work done in the indigenous schools :—“The *pathsala* method of teaching reading and writing is this : *pathsalas* take up writing before reading, or rather both simultaneously. ‘Writing and reading,’ as some of the old *guru mohashays* used to say, ‘are like the two legs of a man ; as both legs are made use of in walking, so both writing and reading must be used for progress in knowledge.’ The *pathsala* boy is made to read out as he writes. Bell and Lancaster, who imitated this system in their schools, considered it an improvement ; and every Pestalozzian must admit that the system which makes the learner use his fingers and eyes, at the same time that he employs his vocal muscles and his sense of hearing, is more scientific, because capable of making stronger and more diverse nervous impressions, than that of quietly looking at letters in a printed book in order to learn their shapes.” In respect of arithmetic, the Bengal Provincial Committee observed that the system in vogue in the *pathsalas* was that of Subhankar, who would seem to have been familiar with the great mathematical works of Bhaskaracharya. “It is therefore hardly likely,” reflect the Committee, “that the *pathsalas*, deriving their inspiration from such sources, should know no better than to work ordinary multiplication by continued addition, etc. The fact is that the *pathsala* system of multiplication commences from the

left-hand figure of the multiplicand* as that of division does from the left-hand figure of the dividend; and the work is not more cumbrous than under the European system, and may, from a certain point of view, be deemed more scientific. As for the *pathsala* method of the rule-of-three, it is no other than the unitary method, lately adopted in English arithmetical works."

Advantages of the indigenous Modes of Instruction in Pathsalas.

In summing up the common-sense advantages offered by the indigenous modes of *pathsala* instruction, the Committee say:—"Any patient observer of the indigenous schools will, as a simple matter of fact, be struck by seeing in their 'customary ways' the relics of much deep thought and of many nice adaptations to circumstances. He will see in their methods the recognition of the soundest principles of education—principles which, partially embodied in the Bell and Lancaster system, in the Jacotot system, and in the simultaneous system, have come into fashion at different times in European countries. He will find that all these principles have been brought into appropriate action, and are still alive in the customary ways of the *pathsalas*. But there is one thing which he will not see. There is no recognition in the indigenous schools of the full Pestalozzian principle which requires a due and regular exercise of the external senses for the reception of knowledge. He will mark, in this great omission . . . the direction of the educational remedy. But that which in the present circumstances tells most against such patient observation of the indigenous schools is the stark

* The native method of simple multiplication goes by the name of *chalan*. The following sum worked out by *chalan* may be found interesting:—Multiply 752 by 403.

752		752		752		<i>N. B.</i> —It is indifferent which number is multiplier and which is multiplicand. Multiplication must begin with the <i>left</i> digit of the multiplier.
4		0		3		
Multiply by 10	3008	Add 30080	0	Add 300800	2256	Answer.
	30080		30080		303056	
		Multiply by 10				
			300800			

inferiority of their teachers, and also the wretchedness of their poverty, and of all their belongings.”

Primary Schools as they were when surveyed by the Bengal Provincial Committee.

A degree better than the village *pathsala* were the primary schools. They were merely simple developments of the indigenous elementary schools which were very properly regarded as schools started by the people for themselves, and peculiarly suited to the ideals and requirements of the peasantry who maintained them in the form which they desired. In improving these schools, the will of the Government had had to be imposed upon the *guru* very cautiously. For, as the Bengal Committee's Report observed, “any attempt to raise these indigenous schools as a body above the primary standard, would inevitably have driven away those people whom, above all others, they had so desired to attract. Any attempt to force the pace would have alarmed the people, and headed back progress.” The operation, therefore, had been one of considerable difficulty and delicacy, calling for much tact and caution. The first step adopted had been to win the confidence and interest of the village schoolmaster, and the approval of the parents whose children he taught. Accordingly, to the schoolmaster a small subsidy had been paid in consideration of his teaching those additional subjects of elementary instruction which had no place in the course of instruction common in *pathsalas*. Thus, slowly but surely, a general improvement had been effected in the indigenous schools of Bengal. As opportunity had offered, younger and better educated teachers had replaced the older and poorly educated *gurus*. The sequel followed in natural course. New subjects of studies were introduced whereby the village *pathsalas* came into the system designed for elementary instruction in the Province. “When an indigenous school had shown success as a Lower Primary School, it was raised to an Upper Primary School, if a school of that type was proved to be

in demand. Incentive was offered for improvement not only by the small rewards that were earned at the annual gatherings of schools, but also by inspections; by the stimulus of competitive examinations, by the award of scholarships, and also perhaps in a still higher measure by the conviction, which in due course filled the hearts of the people in every hamlet of Bengal, that the Government truly interested itself in their schools, and was anxious to co-operate with them in the improvement of their national institutions."

Primary Education guided by popular Ideals and Requirements.

This faith in the good intentions of Government was well merited, for, as the Commissioners reflected in their Report, "from the beginning up to the present moment, the clearly expressed popular wish on this subject (elementary instruction) has guided the administration of education in this branch; and, as has been shown, the people are not ungrateful for elementary instruction nor without interest in it. What the Department has done, has sprung from its own conception of the popular wants, and also from imitation of what was being done in the ruling country.* It would not have been surprising if, in such circumstances, less than full advantage had been taken of existing materials. But, carefully examined and weighed, it would appear that the defects† of the Bengal system are neither serious nor irreparable, and that positive good has been effected in two directions:—first, improving

* Under Sir J. Kay Shuttleworth's Minute of 1846, the curriculum of studies for elementary schools in England was fixed as follows:—Holy Scripture, Church Catechism, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Geography, Grammar, British History, Music, Drawing. Under the new Code of 1861, the grants for elementary education were made to depend (a) on average attendance, (b) on the results of examination in the three R's. The inevitable result was that all the other subjects were starved out. It was to palliate this mischief that in 1867, and subsequently in 1870 and 1871, the "class subjects" and the "specified subjects" were allowed to be resumed and greatly enlarged in the Elementary Schools of England.

† The line taken in England in 1846 was that which was taken by the Education Department of Bengal in 1862-63. The departure made in Bengal in 1872-73 was precisely in the direction followed in England in 1861. A return to the old line was begun in England in 1867, and completed under the Code of 1882. A similar change of direction may, perhaps, have to be made in Bengal.—*Bengal Provincial Committee's Report of Education*, 1884.

† See page 135.

the organization of the indigenous schools and linking them on to the departmental system by a modification of their course of instruction; and second, encouraging increased interest on the part of the people in their own schools. It is a great fact that in Bengal the peoples' schools have not been abolished, nor Government schools substituted for them. In Bengal the voluntary principle has not only been kept alive, but it has been expanded and strengthened."

CHAPTER VII.

The Bearing of the Recommendations of the Education Commission on Primary (Vernacular) Education in Bengal.

The Commission on Indian Education made its recommendations for the entire continent of British India. It is therefore necessary to consider the manner in which, and the extent to which, their chief proposals affected the system employed in Bengal for the instruction of the masses through the medium of their mother-tongue.

RECOMMENDATION.—"*That Primary Education be regarded as the instruction of the masses, through the Vernacular, in such subjects as will best fit them for their position in life, and be not necessarily regarded as a portion of instruction leading up to the University.*"

The "Dual System" of Primary Education in Bengal.

This recommendation merely endorsed the system of Primary Education established in Bengal, where this grade of instruction was viewed from two different standpoints—"first, as an education designed to meet the simple requirements of the masses of the people, and therefore complete in itself so far as it goes; or as that which leads to a somewhat more advanced education in the Vernacular, with possibly a later infusion of English; and secondly, as the initial stage of an English education leading to the University, and therefore justifying the

study of English from the outset." Thus the Bengal system was in imitation of the Board Elementary Schools, the Commercial Academies, and the Preparatory Schools in England. It made a sharp distinction between "the primary education of the people" and "the primary stage of higher education," and accordingly afforded a different initial training for those who were ultimately intended for the University, and for those whose education would end with the village school, and whose life would be spent in the humble round of rural occupations. This "dual system" claimed the undoubted merit of designing each pupil's education in relation to the highest standard which he was likely to reach. It furthermore made it difficult for the educational requirements of the more influential classes to give shape to the elementary education of the lower orders.

RECOMMENDATION.—*"It is desirable to declare the elementary education of the masses, its provision, extension and improvement, to be that part of the educational system to which the strenuous efforts of the State should now be directed in a still larger measure than heretofore . . . and that possesses an almost exclusive claim upon local funds set apart for education, and a large claim on provincial revenues."*

Bengal well provided with Primary Schools, but in need of larger Funds for their Improvement.

In respect of the provision of elementary schools there was no cause for complaint in Bengal, except perhaps that there was a prodigal supply of them. Indeed, the superabundance of indigenous schools, unaided schools, aided schools, board schools and departmental schools, had convinced everyone that the improvement, and not the expansion, of primary education was in immediate demand. With forms of popular government about to be extended in urban areas and introduced into rural tracts, it was more imperative than ever that primary education should have precedence over other grades of education ; for "the system of local self-government,

the principle of popular election, and the encouragement of private enterprise and diversity of pursuit—all pre-suppose that most of the population will be greatly enfranchised from gross ignorance, and will, by degrees, attain at least that elementary knowledge which, as society settles, becomes one of the first conditions of self-defence, self-reliance, self-help and self-advancement.” The diffusion and efficiency of primary education, however, largely resolved itself into a question of rupees, annas and pies. From the very beginning it had been obvious that adequate aid to village schools demanded funds which it was beyond the ability of the Government to supply. Already about eight lakhs a year was being spent in Bengal upon elementary instruction, and the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Augustus Rivers Thompson, proposed to increase the allotment to eighteen lakhs. He was unfortunately prevented from giving effect to his intention, for the provincial exchequer—already crippled by its dependence upon the Financial Contract of 1882—was suddenly called upon to relieve the widespread distress produced by the great sea-wave which inundated parts of Orissa in the neighbourhood of Puri, and by the floods which devastated the Districts of Nadia and Murshidabad, where 3,450 square miles of country were submerged by the overflow of the Ganges and its distributaries.

Measures adopted for increasing the Grants to promising Schools.

But if additional funds were not forthcoming, something possibly could be done by making the best use of the funds that existed. The recommendations of the Commission had advised not only the expansion of primary education, but also the improvement of elementary schools. Expansion demanded increased expenditure, and money was scarce. Improvement on the other hand might be effected by concentrating upon promising schools, and withdrawing from feeble ones. The idea was not new. For some years past District Magistrates and District Committees had been satisfied that the first step in progress was to get rid of the

outer ring of inefficient primary schools, which being of no real educational value, caused a diversion of money which might, with advantage, be bestowed upon schools of better standing. On the other hand, the set policy for some years had been to work for the numerical increase of schools; and the Chief *Guru* System had succeeded beyond all expectation in fostering the opening of new schools, mostly mushroom growths. Indeed, things had come to such a pass that the Director of Public Instruction frankly admitted that almost anything did for a school. "In Muzaffarpore," he related, "a school with even one boy was recognized as a *patshala*; a man teaching only his son or other relative was considered a teacher of a school; the duration of *patshalas* was not taken into account, and the nature of the instruction imparted was not noted at all. Three-fourths of the non-stipendiary schools were season schools, which sprang up during the winter and died away in the summer. Other *patshalas* were started about a month before the reward examination, and disappeared no sooner the rewards had been paid. Others, again, did not exist at all, the inspecting pandit being shown on the day of inspection a cluster of boys borrowed from a neighbouring *patshala*." What had really happened was that the number of primary schools had so increased through the exertions of inspecting officers, and through the readiness of the indigenous school masters to ally themselves with a system, which, without doing violence to their cherished traditions, brought them upon the list of Government-recognized and aided schools—that year after year 6,000 or 8,000 or even 10,000 schools had been aided and controlled(?) by Government. The average annual income of the common run of these schools was Rs. 72—of which Rs. 30 was derived from fees; Rs. 33 from payments in kind; and Rs. 9 from Government. Slender as was the aid doled out to these schools, the Director of Public Instruction considered it of some use. "We have them," he remarked,

“in hand, and that is something. They do not go back; and with the attention paid to them they even slowly rise, as is shown by the increasing number of pupils reading printed books, and of those that pass the Lower Primary Examination.”* When, however, in 1882-83 some 12,000 new schools gained “recognition,” it became transparent that the number of schools within the influence of the education system was too large for effective supervision by the existing staff of inspecting and controlling officers. This state of affairs could not be allowed to continue, and accordingly the Resolution of Government on Education (1882-83) called a halt:— “It is not the wish of the Lieutenant-Governor (Sir Augustus Rivers Thompson) to discourage the establishment of new schools in districts where their number is still small in comparison with the extent of the country and population; but there can be no doubt that in many districts the development of the system of primary education has already reached, if in some it has not actually exceeded, the limits compatible with sound administration, and it is desirable that in these districts there should be no further extension for some years to come. The consolidation and improvement of existing schools should now be the main object of local officers, and the search † for old indigenous schools should be generally abandoned.”

Grant-in-aid Rules made more stringent.

As will have been noted, the orders of Government now required not only that the number of primary schools should not be allowed to increase, but also that the existing schools should be tuned to greater efficiency. With this

* In 1882 out of 50,788 schools only 6,545 had their own houses; 45,256 were accommodated in the houses of villagers; and 987 were held under the shelter of trees. The children sat on small squares of mat which they brought from home daily. Blackboards and benches were unknown except in schools conducted by public bodies, and by missionaries.

† These orders of the Government so sensibly changed the attitude of local officers towards indigenous elementary schools, that the increase of primary schools in 1883-84 was only 1,000 over those of 1882-83.

end in view, the grant-in-aid rules and the curriculum of studies for primary schools were revised and made more exacting. For some years past persevering efforts had been made to induce the *gurus* to use at least one printed book in their schools; and although some general progress had been made in this direction, there were in the rural schools about as many pupils who possessed a printed book as there were pupils who did not, and there were still schools in which no attempt whatever had been made to introduce a printed book—the schools contenting themselves with the practice of handwriting, and with native and mental arithmetic.* It was very obvious that if the terms upon which grants would be given in future were to be made even a little more stringent, this type of rudimentary school would have to be sacrificed to the new grant-in-aid rules. The Director deplored the position. “But,” he argued, “if our resources are not expansive enough to include all schools, it is unquestionably the last class of schools from the control and subsidy of which we should retire; and that for two reasons. In the first place we cannot at this time of day consent to include in our scheme of public primary education any school which permanently refuses, or is unable, to teach the vernacular through the medium of printed pages. The advantage to the riot, the artisan, or the petty trader of being able to spell out the meaning of a printed notice is so obvious at the present time, and probably will be so much greater at no distant future, that we may readily insist upon the introduction of that form of learning into every school that receives public money. In the second place, to deny grants of money to schools which teach no printed primer is to provide

*A pleasing episode may here be interposed. Lord Ripon, eager to form some personal acquaintance with *pathshalas*, by pre-arrangement inspected, in 1884, on the platform of Ranaghat Station on the Eastern Bengal State Railway, 38 *pathshalas* with their 850 pupils. His Excellency heard the children recite the multiplication tables, and witnessed them work out sums in mental arithmetic according to the Subhankari method. With keen interest he examined specimens of handwriting on palm-leaf, plantain-leaf and paper. His Lordship was pleased with what he had seen and heard, but expressed himself more than ever convinced that primary instruction stood in urgent need of elevation in standard and efficiency.

them with the best possible inducement to supply the deficiency. The sums which the schools now receive from the primary grant are too small to make the withdrawal of aid a matter of life or death to them; while the amounts to which they may become entitled if they can succeed in teaching a moderate standard, including a printed book, are considerable enough to make it worth their while to put forth an effort to that end."

Measures taken to improve and consolidate Primary Education.

Accordingly, the following measures were taken in 1886 to improve and consolidate primary education:—(1) The course of instruction in both lower and upper primary schools was revised so that it became more practically useful to the people for whom the schools existed; (2) the use of printed books in aided schools was made obligatory; and (3) every school seeking a reward was required to have a roll of at least ten pupils, to keep attendance and inspection registers, and to have been in existence for not less than six months.

As had been expected, there was a prompt falling off in the number of schools, and in the number of pupils attending them. In 1883 there were in Bengal 63,716 primary schools of both grades with 1,164,799 pupils. In 1885 the schools rose to 65,585. But in 1886, the year in which the new grant-in-aid rules came into force, they declined to 50,710—a loss of 14,875 schools and of 122,952 pupils. In other words, the number of primary schools returned in 1886 to the number at which they had stood in 1882, with this difference that in 1886 the schools had in them 220,000 pupils more than there had been in 1882. In addition to this the 1,994 Upper Primary Schools of 1882 rose to 3,080 in 1886. Moreover, the number of scholars in aided Lower Primary Schools not reading a printed book fell by 110,000. This was satisfactory enough, but the Director in his report for 1886 explained "that the proportion of non-readers is still so high, is due to the fact that even in the best village schools there

is always a considerable number of pupils who are in the "palm-leaf" or "plantain-leaf" stage, who are learning writing and methods of country arithmetic, but who have not yet advanced to the reading of a printed primer."

RECOMMENDATION.—"*That the Upper and Lower Primary Examinations be not made compulsory in any Province.*"

Standards of Examination for Primary Schools.

As advised by the report of the Committee of 1878, the Government of India had desired that these two examinations should be introduced to mark well defined stages in elementary education, and had designed that they should be tests of uniform standard in every Province of British India. In the attempt to give effect to the wishes of Government, it was found that, inasmuch as primary education had developed upon different lines in different Provinces, it was impossible to devise examinations that would serve as a common measure of progress. The recommendation of the Commission, that the experimental examinations which had been tentatively introduced should not be obligatory, was in recognition of the futility of all endeavours to plan any uniform type of examinations that would be suitable to all India. The intention of the Commissioners becomes clear when the recommendation under consideration is read along with a later one:— "That the standards of primary examination in each Province be revised with a view to simplification and to the larger introduction of practical subjects, such as native methods of arithmetic, accounts and mensuration, the elements of natural and physical science, and their application to agriculture, health and the industrial arts; but that no attempt be made to secure general uniformity throughout India."

RECOMMENDATION.—"*That all indigenous schools, whether high or low, be recognized and encouraged, if they serve any purpose of secular education whatsoever. That where indigenous schools exist, the principle of aiding and improving them be*

recognized as an important means of extending elementary education. That boards be required to give elementary indigenous schools free play and development, and to establish fresh schools of their own only when the proposed alternative of aiding suitable indigenous schools cannot be adopted. That primary education be extended in backward districts, especially in those inhabited mainly by aboriginal races, by the instrumentality of the Department pending the creation of school-boards or by specially liberal grants-in-aid to those who are willing to set up and maintain schools."

Agencies and Means for extending Primary Education.

In Bengal these recommendations introduced no new policy. Already wherever indigenous schools existed, they were being aided. Where they had not existed, boards had established schools of their own. In backward tracts where aborigines and the depressed castes had their homes, and where local boards had no jurisdiction, department schools had been established (for example, in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong, on the slopes of the Garo Hills, and in the Tributary States of Orissa): or liberal aid had been given to schools opened by missionary societies, such as the Berlin Evangelical Mission in Chota Nagpur, the Church Missionary Society in the Santhal Parganas, the Scotch Mission in Darjeeling, and the American Baptist Mission and the Wesleyan Mission in the western districts.

RECOMMENDATION.—“*That as a general rule, aid to primary schools be regulated to a large extent according to the results of examination; but an exception may be made in the case of schools established in backward districts or under peculiar circumstances, which may be aided under special rules.*”

Methods of aiding Primary Schools.

The recommendation of the Commission in respect of the methods of aiding primary schools, left the system of Bengal practically unaffected; for it advocated a policy which had been obtaining for some years in that

Province—namely, the support and countenance afforded to indigenous schools; the encouragement extended through the grant-in-aid rules to private enterprise in the direction of educating the masses; and the reluctance of Government to open its own schools where local effort might be expected to do the work, or be helped to do it. At first primary schools had been given stipends. Later on stipends had made way for payments by results. In the period of transition from the one system to the other, in some localities both methods of aiding schools existed separately side by side, while in other localities small stipends were supplemented by rewards calculated by the results obtained by pupils in certain examinations. Whichever system of affording pecuniary aid had been adopted, the result had been to spread primary education. For the Bengal *patshalas* existed not because of the doles distributed to them by Government officials, but because they had in them an inherent vitality; because they were firmly rooted in the sympathies and traditions of the people, who recognized in them the survival of the ancient Hindu village life. The defects of the Bengal system—and the Commissioners noted them in their Report—were the insufficiency of the funds assigned for elementary instruction; the comparatively low standard to which school subjects were taught; the extremely poor qualifications of the bulk of teachers; and the inadequate provision for the proper inspection of the schools.

Courses of Studies in Primary Schools not materially altered by the Commissioners.

So far as Bengal was concerned, there was no hard and fast classification of pupils by annual stages of progress; and the Commissioners accepted the two existing examinations for primary scholarships, with the reservation that the Upper Primary Examination went much beyond the standard contemplated by the Committee of 1878. There was justification for this criticism, for the studies in the highest class of an Upper Primary School

included—(1) the vernacular language, (2) the history and geography of Bengal, (3) arithmetic including the native system of accounts, (4) the first book of Euclid, (5) elementary physics, (6) a primer of sanitation. The lessons in the lower section of an Upper Primary School were identical with those taught in a Lower Primary School, *viz.* :—(1) *Bodhoday* which was a vernacular adaptation of Chambers' rudiments of knowledge, (2) handwriting and the reading of manuscripts, (3) arithmetic by the European method up to compound division, (4) the native system of accounts including zamindari and bazar accounts, (5) Subhankari—that is the rules and formulæ of mental arithmetic according to native methods, (6) *Saral Sharir Palan*—a sanitary primer by Jadu Nath Mookerjee, containing a number of homely rules of health, illustrated by reference to the daily life of a Bengal villager. The Government of India had endorsed the principle enunciated by the Commissioners that “the curriculum of the primary schools ought, while including the preparation necessary for any pupil who may be advancing to the secondary stage, to aim principally at imparting instruction calculated to be of real practical benefit to the bulk of the children whose education will terminate with the primary course.” But the Government of Bengal, while accepting this policy in point of theory, objected that the particular subjects recommended for inclusion by the Commissioners hardly tended to the simplification of the course; and that “in a country where so little education of any sort has been till lately available for the masses, to ask a child in primary instruction to master the elements of science, and their application to agriculture and arts, is to ask too much.” However, to give effect to the proposals of the Commissioners, the sanitary primer was replaced by a simpler book on the same subject; and although it was seriously doubted that anything to which the name of “science” or “agriculture” was applicable, could be usefully taught

in primary schools, in upper primary schools the elements of physics were superseded by simple mensuration which was added to geometry. These alterations were made with a view to render primary education really useful, and to give no ground for the belief that elementary education unfitted the children of the poor for the ordinary duties of their sphere of life, and made them discontented with their lot.

Difficulties in the Way of Female Education.

The Commissioners felt they were confronted with an uncommonly complex problem when they dealt with female education in India. There was no demand for the education of girls so long as women could not use it as a means of livelihood. What desire existed for schooling, was referable to more or less fanciful ideas. The supply of women-teachers was insufficient in quantity and inferior in quality, and there was not much prospect of any improvement so long as the notion prevailed that a woman ceased to be respectable the moment she left her home to earn a living. Further, the system of child-marriage necessitated the removal of girls from school at an age when their education had scarcely begun. And lastly, it had not been possible to organize female education apart from the education of boys. Witnesses before the Commissioners bore abundant testimony to the practical and almost unsurmountable difficulties which beset the task of bringing instruction to Indian girls. Kristodas Pal in his examination before the Commissioners said, "The social institutions of the people are in the way of any great advance, and until a change is effected in them it is hopeless to make female education a complete success. On the one hand, any attempt to tamper with the customs of the country cannot but make the community rebel against it; and on the other hand, change in those customs must be effected if education is to be effective." Maulvi Syed Amir Hossain gave an even more gloomy account of the feasibility of educating Muhammadan

girls. "Among the girls of Muhammadans of the lower classes," he said, "there is no education to speak of. Muhammadan girls of the upper and middle classes are taught reading the Koran and simple religious books and needlework in their own zenanas; but they seldom learn to write . . . The number of leading and representative Muhammadans who are in favour of female education in public schools, may be counted on one's fingers. The time, I hope, is not distant when we may count on the increase of such number, but till then I wish to speak as little on the subject as possible."

The Uttarpara Hitakari Sabha.

Happily, however, there were still a courageous few who did not regard female education as a forlorn hope. In 1864 Babu Bejoykissen Mookerjee of Uttarpara had gathered around him a small band of earnest and enlightened Bengali gentlemen, and with their support he had established the Hitakari Sabha. Funds were collected for the provision of scholarships to the best pupils in the several girls' schools in the districts of Howrah, Hooghly and the 24-Parganas. As there was not yet an Inspectress of Schools, the Sabha volunteered to supervise the education of girls. To this end the society prescribed syllabuses and courses of studies, and arranged for a series of examinations appropriate to each stage. It was on the results of these examinations that the prizes and scholarships of the Sabha were awarded. The pioneer work being done by Babu Bejoykissen Mookerjee and his colleagues gained early recognition from Mr. H. Woodrow, the Director of Public Instruction, and he increased the small funds of the Sabha by a Government grant. But the general Bengali public looked askance at the Sabha, and watched its operations from afar. The visit to India, in 1875-76, of Miss Mary Carpenter, stimulated officials and non-officials to active participation in the spread of education among women, and encouraged Sir Richard Temple, the Lieutenant-Governor,

to issue the Resolution of the Government, dated the 24th April, directing the introduction of the organization of the Sabha into the more advanced districts of the Province. In the same year Mrs. Wheeler, daughter of the distinguished Bengali scholar, the Reverend Krishna Mohan Banerjee, was appointed Inspectress of Schools, and in the Sabha she found an ally ready to hand. Meanwhile, other similar Sabhas sprang up in different parts of Bengal, such for example as the Bakarganj Hitaishini Sabha, the Sylhet Union, the Vikrampur Sammilani Sabha, the Faridpur Suhrid Sabha, and the Puschim Dacca Hitakari Sabha.

The Course of Studies appointed by the Hitakari Sabha for Girls' Schools.

The Uttarpara Hitakari Sabha instituted the following examinations and prescribed the following courses of studies :—

JUNIOR EXAMINATION.

Vernacular Literature.—Padyapath, Part I; Bodhoday.
Grammar.—*Sandhi*, Adjectives, Genders and Cases of Nouns.

Geography.—Asia.

Arithmetic.—The Four Simple Rules, Arithmetical Tables.

SENIOR EXAMINATION.

Vernacular Literature.—Padyapat, Part II; Charupath, Part II.

Grammar.—*Sandhi*, *Samasa*, *Linga* and *Karaka*.

History.—History of Bengal by Raj Kissen Mookerjee.

Geography.—Asia and Europe.

Arithmetic.—Up to Compound Division.

Composition.—Lessons on Objects, and up to page 56 of Primer on Preservation of Health by J. N. Mukerjee.

FINAL EXAMINATION.

Vernacular Literature.—Charupath, Part I, Kabita Sangraha by Khettra Nath Bhattacharjee, and Varat Bhiksha by Hem Chandra Banerjee.

Grammar.—*Sandhi, Linga, Karaka, Samasa* and *Prakriti*.

History.—History of India, Part I, by Jadu Gopal Chatterjee.

Geography.—The Four Quarters of the Globe, and India in detail.

Arithmetic.—Rule of Three, Fractions, and the Formulæ of Subhankar.

Natural Philosophy.—Up to Electric Attraction, by Akhoy Kumar Dutt.

ZENANA EXAMINATION.

Vernacular Literature.—Kabitabali, by Hem Chandra Banerjee ; Meghnad Badh Kabya, Book IV, by M. M. S. Datta ; Sitarbanabas, by Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar ; and the Chapter on Chastity from the Banaparva of Kali Prasanna Singh's Mahabharata.

History.—History of India, by Ramgati Nayaratna.

Arithmetic.—The Formulæ of Subhankar.

Composition.—Preservation of Health, by Radhica Prasanna Mookerjee.

Cookery.

The Syllabus of the Hitakari Sabha criticized.

Mrs. Wheeler, the Inspectress of Schools, while giving generous recognition to the useful work being done by the Hitakari Sabha, naturally considered the standard of the first three examinations as pitched too high for girls who, in the circumstances of Indian society, had to be under eleven years of age. Sheer cramming was inseparable from the system. The prizes and scholarships offered were, of course, much coveted, and in addition they were the only means of attracting girls to school and keeping them there. "Unfortunately, leading and influential members of native society," she remarked, "seem also to deprecate the value of good, sound primary education, and to advocate the cramming of higher subjects by evincing an impatience for girls to learn more and 'pass' in the higher subjects." She advised that the third year course

of the Hitakari syllabus should be entirely rejected ; that the first year course should answer for the second year ; that the second year course should be modified to be suitable for the third year ; and that an easy course should be framed for the first year. Her recommendations were accepted, and the following revised standards were introduced after the second :—

Subjects.	Standard III.	Standard IV.	Standard V.	Standard VI.
Reading ...	As at present ...	Bodhoday, with meanings, Poetical Reader I, Bastubichar, and to recite 20 lines.	Minute explanations of Bastubichar Charupath I or II, with meanings.	Questions from Charupath. reading from Nab-a-Nari, Poetical Reader III, with meanings ; rendering of Poetry into Prose.
Writing .	As at present ...	As now, with reading from manuscript.*	Dictation from Charupath, writing in simple Bengali.	Dictation, paraphrasing, composition.
Arithmetic	As at present. Tables up to 3 × 10.	As now, except Tables to 10 × 10 and Gundakia.	As now, except Tables to 10 × 20, and easy reduction in money.	As now, with bazar weights and measures.
Grammar	Classification of letters, vowels and consonants.	Easy sandhi of vowels.	Sandhi of both vowels and consonants, easy samas.	Sandhi and samas with examples from lesson book ; gender.
Geography	.....	Definitions	Definitions and map of Asia.	Map of the world and of India.

* In lower-class schools, i.e., schools in exceptionally poor districts, such as the rice districts south of Calcutta, it would be well to keep the third standard as the highest, adding the subjects marked with an asterisk, as these are likely to be most useful to the pupils.

Co-education of Boys and Girls recognized among the Agencies for promoting Female Education.

Besides the Sabhas there were various other agencies engaged in the delicate work of educating Indian girls. In some homes male relatives instructed the female members of the family. Adult women received instruction in house-to-house visiting by missionary ladies, who also conducted elementary schools for girls. In addition to this, quite a large number of little girls went to boys'

schools with their brothers or cousins. Departmental officers, eager to seize on every opening for female education, had encouraged their attendance by giving additional rewards to *gurus* who had girls in their *patshala*. In some places girls and boys were taught by the same *guru*, in the same schoolhouse, but at different hours. Even if separate schools had been necessary for girls, the community was not rich enough to maintain them, and in any case, in the dearth of school-mistresses, girls' schools would have had to be conducted by male teachers. As it was, with every possible effort made to spread education among females, barely 1 per cent. of the female population of Bengal had received any, even the most elementary, education.

Recommendations of the Commission as to Female Education.

This, then, was the setting and state of female education when the Commissioners were called upon to make their recommendations for its expansion. Their proposals did not break new ground, nor mark out any untried line of policy. They felt that whatever action might be taken it could be only tentative and provisional. "After reciting that female education should be treated as a legitimate charge on provincial, on local, and on municipal funds, and should receive special encouragement, and further that all female schools, whether on a religious basis or not, should be eligible for aid so far as they produce any secular results, such as a knowledge of reading and writing, the Commission proceed to recommend that the Grant-in-aid Codes in the various Provinces should be revised so as to afford aid to girls' schools on easier terms as regards rates of aid, the attendance of scholars, the standards of instruction, fees, scholarships, the teaching of English, and the provision of boarding accommodation. Mixed schools, other than infant schools, are not suited to the conditions of the country, and should not therefore be encouraged except in places where girls' schools could not be maintained. Girls' schools were not to be placed under the management of

local boards or municipalities, except at the desire of those bodies, and even then the control was to be surrounded by certain safeguards. As to the teachers, masters were gradually to be replaced by mistresses; and with that object additional training schools for women should be provided, and liberal aid afforded to those under private management; inducement should be offered to the wives of schoolmasters, to widows, and to Eurasian young women, to qualify themselves as teachers; the examination for teachers' certificates should be open to all candidates wherever trained; and a system of pupil-teacherships should be established. Additional recommendations provided for grants to zenana agencies and to local associations for the promotion of female education; for an increase to the female inspecting agency; for the revision of text-books, and for the establishment of an alternative standard for high schools, corresponding to the matriculation examination, but having no relation to any University course." The Government of India "had nothing to add to what the Commissioners say on the subject of female education. All their proposals appear to be suitable, and are generally approved by Local Governments." *

The Government of Bengal is favourable to Mixed Schools.

There was, however, one recommendation of the Commissioners with which the Government of Bengal did not agree—the recommendation that mixed schools should not be encouraged. It protested "General opinion testifies to the great success which attends these schools, and to their entire agreement with social conditions in this Province. The experience of every inspecting officer in Bengal confirms the high value which the Bengal Provincial Committee attach to mixed schools. The competition between girls and boys in these schools is of the utmost value in stimulating the progress of both. It

* This analysis of the recommendations of the Commission in respect of female education is from Sir Alfred Croft's Review of Education in India, 1886.

must, of course, be understood that these girls are practically all under 10 years of age, and that condition assigns the only necessary limit to the extension of the mixed schools system. Never has any hint of danger or difficulty been suggested by any resident of the mofussil or by any native witness." To give point to the Lieutenant-Governor's espousal of the cause of mixed schools, the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, cited the case of a grown-up Hindu lady, Ram Bai, who applied for admission into one of the Sanskrit tols of Nadia, and who was received on equal term with the rest of the students. *

Action taken on the Recommendations of the Commission in respect of Girls' Schools.

On the publication of the Government of India's Resolution on the recommendations of the Education Commission, conferences on female education were held with a view to action being taken upon the lines set forth. In the main there was not much left to be done in Bengal. There girls' schools had already been encouraged by fixed monthly or capitation grants; and the introduction in 1885-86 of the plan of giving the *guru* of a boys' schools four annas a month for each girl in his school who could read a little, had the effect of doubling the number of girls in boys' schools. In the matter of fees it was held that they should not be insisted upon, since "parents reckon the education of their girls as having no money value, and therefore refuse to pay fees." Instead of transferring girls' schools to the control of local boards, it was decided that they should continue under departmental guidance, for "native public opinion had not decided either as to the expediency of school-life for girls, or as to the claim of female education on municipal funds." In respect of the gradual displacement of male teachers by school mistresses, it was felt that nothing appreciative could be done; for "apart from the social effacement of widows in the Hindu system, the employment of a woman, if young and therefore

* In Orissa in 1902-06 there were many instances in which married Brahman and Kanan girls continued in girls', and even mixed, schools up to the age of 12 or 13.

teachable, in independent charge, is opposed to Hindu sentiment and to the conditions of Hindu society, whether she be unmarried or a widow. It seems that, as a rule, she could undertake such work only when under the protection of a Christian Mission."

The Training of Teachers. Three Grades of Training Schools.

In Chapter V some account has been given of the means by which the training of teachers had been initiated. The idea underlying the obviously tentative contrivances for improving teachers was "to effect a general improvement in the standard of teaching, not by imposing teachers from without on the village schools, nor even generally by compelling the teachers to come into the district headquarters for training, but rather by gradually infusing among the villagers a desire for a better standard, and by so improving the position and prospects of the teacher that men with higher qualifications for the work might gradually be attracted to it. The necessity of a superior training for village teachers was held to be less urgent in Bengal, where the village school course is limited by the moderate requirements of the labouring population, than in those provinces in which all classes receive their elementary education together." Although this was the accepted outlook, the work of training *gurus* had not been neglected in Bengal where training schools had been organised in correspondence to the well-defined needs of the different types of schools which existed. At Cuttaek, Ranchi, Patna, Chittagong, Dacca, Rungpore, Hooghly and Calcutta there were First Grade Training Schools, where the students were put through a three years' training course—a course so high pitched, although it was exclusively in the vernacular, that the Education Commissioners declared it to be on a level with that of the First Examination in Arts of the Calcutta University. Then, at Jalpaiguri there was a Second Grade Training School whose course extended over two years. For the training

of *patshala gurus* there were Third Grade Training Schools at Saidabad, Motihari, Palamau, Haldipukur, Puri, Balasore and Angul, and special classes attached to the Training Schools at Rangpur, Jalpaiguri and Cuttack. Certificates of the First, Second and Third Grades were given to the successful students of the first, second and third year classes of First Grade Training Schools, and each certificate was described as high, medium or low according to the marks obtained in the examinations. The Commissioners thus dwelt upon the usefulness of the last named schools :—"They are the only representatives of vernacular colleges in Bengal, and serve to maintain a high standard of literary purity both in our vernacular schools and in vernacular literature. It may be asserted unhesitatingly that the vast majority of the Bengali books which issue from the Bengali press at the present day would never have existed, but for the maintenance of a high literary standard by means of the normal schools. The vernacular language can never disappear from society or from education ; and its cultivation to a due standard of excellence, and of fitness for purposes of literary and scientific expression, is not unworthy of the attention of the Education Department or of Government."

Steps taken to encourage the formal training of Teachers for Primary Schools.

As has been stated, the policy in Bengal was to attract a better type of teacher by infusing among villagers a desire for a higher standard of education, and by improving the position and prospects of teachers. This, however, had not checked direct attempts to afford formal training to teachers for the different grades of schools. The Government of India, in dealing with the recommendations of the Commissioners in respect of the provision of trained teachers, expressed the opinion that all teachers who were willing to undergo training should have opportunities of securing it, and that all trained teachers should be eligible for higher grants. Accordingly, free tuition was offered to all *gurus* or intending *gurus* in

certain selected middle vernacular schools, whether Government or aided; a reward of one rupee was paid to the headmaster of the middle school for every *guru* under training; and the course extended over one year, and the instruction conformed to the upper primary standard or to the special standard for lower (*i.e.*, third) grade training schools. It was claimed that the scheme possessed many advantages. In the first place, a *guru* need never go far from his home—a fact which disposed of an outstanding difficulty; when the *gurus* in the neighbourhood of one middle school had been trained, a class could be formed in another middle school 10 or 12 miles off; the instruction of the *gurus* was in the hand of headmasters who had themselves been trained in a normal school; and lastly the payment of one rupee per month for each *guru* taught incited the headmaster to take an interest in gathering in as many *gurus* as he could.

Observations on the Measures adopted for training Gurus.

There was a good deal of elasticity in the planning of the training schools which have been described. In schools of the second grade the third year's course was not taught; just as in the third grade school the second year's course was not taken up. The scheme was related to the rudimentary needs of village pandits; but opinions differed widely regarding the value of the *guru*-training classes which had been established in 1885-86 for the training of teachers for Lower Primary Schools. Mr. Bellett, Inspector of Schools, thus recorded his views on the system:—
“It is not popular; *gurus* of existing schools do not flock to these classes; on the other hand, the Deputy Inspectors have to hunt for them, and compel them to come in. It is not necessary. Though there may be some cases where *patshalas* are held by decidedly illiterate and inefficient men, these cases are very rare. Though the average *guru* may not be a very brilliant person, he is capable of teaching his school the three R's, and I have been over and over again struck by the success obtained by *gurus* with very

few attainments, who have themselves had hardly any schooling at all. Nor are the classes necessary for intending *gurus*. The rising type of *guru* is almost always a man already provided with an upper primary and even a middle vernacular certificate, and that is all that we are proposing by this elaborate system of training classes to provide them with." The Director of Public Instruction, in summing up the position, wrote "It would then seem that the system is not liked everywhere. Some of the Divisions have not tried it at all, and some of those that have tried it condemn it as useless and unworkable The practice of training *intending gurus* at public cost is risky, and should be discontinued where it exists. Men actually in charge of *patshalas* should have the benefit of the system, and should be encouraged, on their passing by a standard, not only with the rewards sanctioned, but with fixed stipends in upper and lower primary schools." The Lieutenant-Governor accepted these views.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Administration of Education by District Boards.

I. CONTROL OF SCHOOLS.

By 1887-88 the Local Self-Government Act had been brought into operation in all Regulation Districts. The immediate result was the dissolution of the District Committees of Public Instruction, and the assumption of their obligations to elementary education by District Boards. The non-Regulation Districts of Chota Nagpore, Sonthal Pergunnahs, Darjeeling, the Chittagong Hill Tracts, and the Tributary Mahals of Orissa were not affected by the new Act, and their Committees continued to preside over mass education. Within District Boards were Local Boards—smaller areas of self-government coincident with administrative sub-divisions, and in the more advanced tracts they still share honours with the "elder" Board at the sudder station. Generally speaking, their powers were, and are, more or less restricted; and as a consequence the spirit of autonomous government languishes in them.

The educational duties transferred to District Boards, included the management of Government primary and middle schools—English and vernacular ; the control of the grant-in-aid to middle schools under private management and to all primary schools ; and the conduct of the annual examinations for the award of primary scholarships. In certain Districts, the District Board delegated to Local Boards the power to sanction primary grants to *patshalas* ; to appoint, dismiss, and grant leave of absence to *gurus* ; to determine the centres at which the Lower Primary Examination should be held ; and to issue the certificates which pupils might earn at this test. For the inspection of the schools in the District, and for the general immediate management of educational activities, nearly the whole body of Sub-Inspectors of Schools was transferred to the service of District Boards. But since Municipalities and Cantonments were not within the jurisdiction of District Boards, 21 Sub-Inspectors were retained by the Department, in as many Districts, for the supervision of schools in these “non-Board areas.” The Deputy Inspector remained a Departmental servant, and controlled the Government schools. Over the Board schools he exercised no authority, although he was expected to visit and report on their condition. Thus, at first, he remained in detachment from the District Board ; but in 1890, to secure his co-operation in the educational programme of the District, he was by a Government notification made an *ex-officio* member of the Board, and given a place on the Educational Sub-Committee which in every District was organised for the consideration and supervision of educational matters. In the same year the educational rules of the Local Self-Government Act were revised to give a clearer definition to the powers and duties of the several authorities which in a District were concerned with education in its progressive phases. For the next 10 years, the co-ordination of Departmental and District Board officers proceeded harmoniously, except that it was found

desirable to rule that, before approving of the budget estimate of expenditure by a municipality, the District Magistrate should consult the views of the Deputy Inspector.

In 1905 it was realised that the efficiency of control would be increased by removing the Sub-Inspectors* from the service of District Boards to the service of the Department. Hitherto, while in subordination to the Deputy Inspector in general matters, they owed him no obedience in the discharge of their duties; and were not infrequently in opposition to him. This was not conducive to discipline, and it was decided to bring the subordinate inspecting staff into official dependence upon the Department of Public Instruction. This was done, and at the same time the number of Sub-Inspectors was increased.

Subordinate Agents for the Inspection of Vernacular Schools.

In Chapter V it has been narrated that the inspection of lower primary schools was at one time committed to chief *gurus*, who in 1891 were superseded by Inspecting Pandits. These Pandits were Board servants, and drew their salary from the Primary Fund. They were in subordination to Sub-Inspectors, who themselves were arranged in three grades. The pay of the third, that is, the lowest grade, was Rs. 30, a sum which the Education Commission declared too insufficient for sound work. Accordingly, a uniform starting salary of Rs. 50 was introduced for Sub-Inspectors, and their internal gradation was abolished. As primary schools multiplied, it was found necessary to increase the subordinate inspecting staff, but insufficiency of funds stood in the way of adding to the number of Sub-Inspectors. As an alternative Dr. C. A. Martin, Director of Public Instruction, in 1897-98, proposed substituting a certain number of Inspecting Pandits by Assistant Sub-Inspectors, who were to be drawn from the same social class as Sub-Inspectors. Mr. (afterwards Sir) Alexander Pedler, who succeeded Dr. Martin, did not favour the proposal, and it

* While Sub-Inspectors were servants of District Boards a strange medley of duties was imposed on them; e.g., the supervision of the income from cattle pounds and river ferries, reporting on insanitary villages, checking the accounts of vendors of quinine, etc.

lay fallow till 1906-07 when it was brought into effect. As a matter of fact the measure was not regarded as satisfactory; but the augmentation of the inspecting agencies for primary schools was so imperative that it could not be delayed. This will appear from the following tabular statement :—

Year.	Number of		Number of		Number of	
	Sub-Inspectors.	Guru Instructors.	U. P. Schools.*	Scholars.	L. P. Schools.*	Scholars.
1885	192	1,653†	2,983	109,029	64,879	1,152,987
1890	195	933	3,596	133,895	46,010	995,189
1895	204	483	4,100	158,872	48,889	1,110,362
1900	212	477	4,473	184,089	46,328	1,117,334
1906§	237‡	354	2,908	132,564	31,046	736,647
1911§	373‡	...	3,625	188,980	35,841	1,017,405
1912‡	...	...	3,764	204,188	35,186	1,022,992

* For Indian boys and girls.

† Including Chief *Gurus*.

‡ Reunited Bengal.

§ For Western Bengal only.

‡ Including respectively 33 and 70 Assistant Sub-Inspectors.

Unfortunately the data are wanting for the completion of the above table in the last years mentioned. But even the most casual examination of the figures that have been secured will convince of the inadequacy of the subordinate inspecting staff. The appointment of Assistant Sub-Inspectors (1912) has not materially brought relief, and the general opinion is that they are an anomaly in the chain of inspecting agents. They are practically the Inspecting Pandit with all his limitations, but on a salary of Rs. 30 against the Inspecting Pandit's Rs. 15. Their ignorance of English unfits them for correspondence with the central office, and yet they have been given equal responsibilities with Sub-Inspectors, and from them the same character of work is expected, although they are given a lower salary and travelling allowance. The decision has been arrived at to reduce the number of Inspecting Pandits as the number of schools with trained *gurus* increases.

II. PRIMARY EDUCATION—FINANCE.

Sources from which Funds for Primary Education are derived.

The sources from which the Funds are derived for distribution to schools of their grants-in-aid are as follow :—

A.—Scheduled District, *i.e.*, Districts Permanently Settled—

(a) BOARD AREAS—

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| (1) Administered by the District Board. | { | I. Income from pounds. |
| | | II. „ „ ferries. |
| | | III. „ „ Provincial Grants. |
| | | IV. „ „ general savings. |
| | | V. „ „ road cess* (since 1913). |
| (2) Administered by the District Magistrate. | } | 1 per cent. Grant for Khas Mahal Schools. |

(b) MUNICIPAL AREAS—

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| (1) Administered by Municipal Commissioners. | { | Municipal Funds, being not less than 3·2 per cent. of total income. |
| (2) Administered by the District Magistrate (through the Inspector of Schools since 1916). | } | Special Grants from Provincial Revenues. |

B.—Non-scheduled, *i.e.*, Non-regulation Districts—

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|------|---|
| (a) Municipal or Urban Areas. | } | As in a Scheduled District. |
| (b) Non-Municipal Rural Areas. | or { | Provincial Funds administered by the District Magistrate. |

* *N.B.*—The Road Cess, which generally formed the most important of the sources from which District Boards derived their income, was not specifically meant to provide assistance to educational work in the District. As a matter of practice it has invariably been drawn upon to meet educational deficits.

III. SYSTEMS OF GRANT-IN-AID.

In the years preceding the Local Self-Government Act, no portion of local rates had ever been assigned to education, except as regards small sums in certain non-Regulation Districts. Indeed up to 1886 the whole of the cess-income had been applied to roads and communications. For the promotion of elementary education, the Government used to make a contribution from the general funds of the Province either by direct allotment, or by transferring sources of revenue, and this contribution was administered by District Boards along with the other funds which they raised under statutory powers. In Bengal the contributions from Provincial Funds were lower than anywhere else in India; nor was there a local educational cess in that Presidency, such as there was, for instance, in Bombay, Berar and the Central Provinces. On the other hand, the support which primary schools in Bengal received from private sources was so liberal, that in respect of private contributions for the education of the masses, Bengal stood at the head of all the Provinces in India. The lack, however, of State aid resulted in the primary schools of Bengal being conducted so cheaply that they failed of efficiency.*

* Table showing the comparative cost of Primary Schools—departmental, board, aided, and maintained by Native States—in 1886.

PROVINCE.	Cost of a Primary School.		Total annual cost.
	To Public Funds.	To Private Funds.	
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Madras	61	65	126
Bombay	164	101	265
Bengal	14	43	57
N.-W. Provinces	106	8	114
Punjab	178	38	216
Central Provinces	157	43	200
Burma	144	11	155
Assam	60	26	86
Berar	202	48	250
Coorg	164	10	174

The Sixth Quinquennial Review, 1907-12, states "The average expenditure on a boy's primary school is Rs. 162 a year, varying from Rs. 431 in Bombay to Rs. 83 in Bengal.

As has been related, by the close of 1886 the Local Self-Government Act was brought into operation in sixteen selected Districts, and was, in the following year, extended to all Regulation Districts. The rules to be observed in giving effect to the provisions of the Act were published in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 17th February, 1886. They provided that the Lieutenant-Governor should every year make over to each District Board its allotment of funds to be expended upon primary education within its boundaries, (2) the grant-in-aid allotment for certain specified schools, and (3) the Government contributions for other schools placed directly under the management of the Board, and known as Board Schools.

District Boards had to gain Experience.

As was only natural, District Boards did not immediately get into the stride of the new work which had been delegated to them. They had had no experience in the supervision of primary education, and their capacity for their new duties had to improve with time. But in addition to this, some of their difficulties came from within. "The usual composition of District Boards," wrote the Director of Public Instruction in his Report for 1890-91, "or at least the composition of the small number who attend the Board's meetings, is such as to render it unfit to deal with the difficult problems presented by the administration of middle and primary schools. The most influential men on these Boards are usually pleaders or *muktiars*, men almost invariably foreigners to the District the people of which they are supposed to represent, with absolutely no knowledge often of the geography, and always of the requirements, of the interior of the District." What puzzled them most was how the primary allotment should be administered, and in general they "steadily set themselves to reduce the amount allowed for stipends and to increase that for rewards."* It was not long before the

* As to this the Director observed:—"That the evil complained of did not exist when the control of primary education was in the hands of the Department, cannot be said: but whereas the payment-by-results system had been fostered and had acquired

Director was alarmed to find that though the stipendiary schools represented only about a fifth of the number of primary schools, for several years they had been receiving more than one-half the total sum expended upon primary education—this of necessity leaving quite a large number of *patshalas* without any aid whatever from primary funds. In these circumstances, and in order to release as large a share as possible of the money at the disposal of District Boards, the Director advised Government, who sanctioned the proposals, (1) that the rate of stipends should be pruned; (2) that the number of stipendiary schools should be reduced; (3) that the payment-by-results system should be extended; (4) that rewards should not be given to *patshalas* which failed to earn a certain prescribed minimum; and (5) that the staff of Chief *Gurus* should be reduced in number to the lowest limits consistent with the efficient supervision of primary schools. In advocating the course which he recommended, Sir Alfred Croft declared that, had funds sufficed, he would have advocated the extension of the stipendiary system, inasmuch as it operated to increase the stability of schools. But later on, taking the situation as he found it, and endeavouring to make the best of existing possibilities, he finally experimented with a plan which seemed to him to combine the advantages of both systems, and which made the largest distribution of the limited sums which District Boards held in favour of education. He made a compromise between the stipendiary and payment-by-results systems, and called it the “Advance System.”

The Advance System of Grants to Primary Schools.

Sir Alfred Croft may be allowed to describe the Advance System:—“Except in the case of very backward tracts, where hardly any fee-receipts can be looked for,

considerable development under the Department, the policy which most of the Boards at the outset seemed to favour was that of gradually displacing the results-system by the stipendiary system. It is unfair, however, to lay the blame entirely at the door of the Boards, for the fault is very often due to the influence of the subordinate inspecting officers who advise the Boards, and who look to the obvious fact that the stipendiary schools are the best.”

and where, therefore, a stipend is the teacher's chief means of subsistence, small stipends of one or two rupees a month are, it is believed, just as efficacious as larger ones, for the purpose of securing the stability of a lower primary school. Such sums might, for convenience, be paid quarterly, as a sort of retaining fee. Moreover—and this is the central point of the scheme—the small stipends should in every case be regarded as an advance out of the reward to be subsequently earned at the central examination* to which all such stipendiary schools should be admitted along with the rest. . . . If any school earned less than the amount of its stipend, it should not be called upon to refund the difference; but its future retention on the list (possibly with an increased stipend, possibly with none) would be decided by the District Board after consideration of the usefulness of the school and the backwardness of the locality. The total amount that a school could earn at the examination should also be limited to, say, Rs. 50 (inclusive of the stipend, if any), so that prosperous and well attended schools should not carry off an undue share of the primary grant, to the detriment of struggling schools. . . . Something like Rs. 4 or Rs. 5 might be fixed as the limit below which no reward would be paid to a school; and it is evident that the fixing of such a limit would supply a struggling school with a very tangible inducement to improve itself and increase its earning power. . . . Stipends of Rs. 3 or Rs. 4 a month . . . should under this system be strictly reserved for needy schools in backward tracts, where schools are wanted, and are also likely to succeed. . . . To a certain number of upper primary schools there may be granted a substantial stipend, say, Rs. 5 or Rs. 6 a month for one teacher, or Rs. 8 a month for two teachers, in addition to all that they can earn in the way of fees. . . . If a good school of its kind can be maintained at an outside cost of Rs. 100 a year, the money is well laid out."

* See pages 169 and 181.

The Advance System proves a Failure.

The Advance System was sanctioned by Government. It was, however, nothing more than a contrivance to which Sir Alfred Croft had been driven in his extremity for want of adequate funds. He never regarded his device as a panacea; and he was not surprised when, a few years later on, it was pronounced unpopular alike with *gurus* and Sub-Inspectors of Schools. Obviously no one can make a success of any business which requires money, and the money requisite is not forthcoming. "The question," wrote Sir Alfred Croft, "is really and simply one of funds. Spend a certain amount of money on primary education, and you will get certain results; spend more, and you will get more. As regards the lower primary examination, which is one of the most obvious tests of progress, we are now just where we were ten years ago.* What has been the history of the intervening period? From 1881-82 to 1884-85 the primary grant had been steadily growing from Rs. 5,00,000 to nearly Rs. 8,00,000, and the success of schools at the examination advanced in like proportion. In 1885-86 there was a reduction in the grant, due to the stringency of the financial situation.† The position improved in the following year; but in 1887-88, when the grants were made over to District Boards, they were calculated on the actuals of a 'tight' year, 1885-86. The fluctuations in results since 1887-88 are not very easy to trace. Primary education has, in the first place, been made over to District Boards. . . . The financial difficulty has also re-appeared in a measure. Though the grants allotted by District Boards for primary education have, on the whole, increased, yet some Boards have been compelled to reduce their grants owing to a falling off in their income; and the loss caused by such reductions is

* Year.	Successes at L. P. Examination.
1881-82	.. 16,131.
1884-85	.. 21,500.
1890-91	.. 16,181.

† Due to the Burmese War.

much more speedily felt than is the corresponding gain due to an increased grant. Then follow special disturbing causes like the census and the floods, which for a time affect the results injuriously. But the permanent cause remains, and that is the want of funds* to ensure the steady progress of primary schools. . . . The schools have been transferred to the District Boards, and with their existing resources they are altogether unable to answer the demand. Unless the Government can make them an annually increasing grant for the support of primary schools, I see no other resource than that which I advocated in 1884, namely, the imposition of an educational cess." Sir Charles Elliott, the Lieutenant-Governor, recognised the truth of these remarks; but saw no way out of the situation. To release part of the tension on the primary allotment, it was resolved that no schools which taught to the middle standard should receive any pecuniary assistance from District Boards without the permission of the Circle Inspector.

The Simla Conference of 1901 and its Results.

In 1901 a conference was held at Simla, and it was resolved that whereas it was uncertain in operation and tended to encourage cramming, the system of basing the financial aid to a school upon the results achieved by its pupils at certain examinations was to be condemned. The Government of India accordingly ordered that the results-grant system of payment should be replaced by a system of payment in which "attendance, buildings, circumstances of the locality, qualifications of the teachers, nature of instruction, and outlay from other sources" would be taken into account in assessing the grant. To give effect to this decision it was arranged that the remuneration of a *guru* from public funds should take the form of a

* "The expansion of primary schools has received a check in recent years from the calamities of famine and plague; and it is further impeded by the indifference of the more advanced and ambitious classes to the spread of primary education. These, however, are minor obstacles, which would soon be swept away if the main difficulty of finding the requisite funds for extending primary education could be overcome."—*Resolution of the Government of India in the Home Department, No. 119 of 11th March 1904.*

subsistence allowance paid quarterly, and of a further allowance paid at the end of the year ; the latter depending on the number of pupils regularly attending the school, the nature of the instruction given, and the general character of the school as ascertained by *in situ* inspections made by members of Local Boards and Inspecting Officers.*

The Grant-in-aid Rules were modified in 1911.

It having been generally impossible to pay schools their grants promptly as they became due each quarter, the rules for the subsistence and deferred allowances were modified in 1911. It was then ordered that the former should be paid twice a year—on the 1st of April and on the 1st of October ; and that the merit marks gained by schools at inspections during the six months of one year should determine the amount payable to the schools for the corresponding six months of the following year. The deferred allowance for the previous year was, in future, to be paid at the beginning of the next financial year. In order to secure a desirable uniformity, both subsistence and deferred allowance were made dependent upon the merit marks gained for the following points at the inspections by Sub-Inspectors or Assistant Sub-Inspectors :—

	Maximum Marks.
(1) Average number on the rolls, and average percentage in attendance during the working season ...	10
(2) Qualifications of the Teacher ..	10
(3) State of the schoolhouse and appur- tenances	10
(4) Progress being made by the pupils as a whole	10

To score full 10 marks, the Head Pandit of an Upper Primary School should hold at least the Middle Vernacular

* About this time orders were issued that the expenditure upon the primary classes in High and Middle Schools, and the number of pupils in those classes, should, in the Annual Reports, be credited to Primary Education. On the 31st March 1902, it was reported that there were 162,747 pupils in the classes under reference, and that during the official year 1901-02 the cost of educating them had been Rs. 52,04,886.

Certificate or its equivalent, or the Guru Training School Certificate of the senior grade. In the same way the *guru* of a Lower Primary School should have passed the Upper Primary Examination, or hold a school certificate for Standard IV, or a Guru Training School Certificate of the grade. Further conditions necessary to a grant were that the school had been in existence six months previous to the 1st of April or the 1st of October, and that the percentage of attendance in an Upper Primary School was not less than 60, and of a Lower Primary School not less than 50.

IV. BOARD SCHOOLS.

In Chapter VII it has been related that for a series of years the outstanding aim had been to work for the rapid multiplication of elementary schools, and that by 1882 there were so many village schools that the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Augustus Rivers Thompson, forbade any further increase in their number, at least for some time to come. The expansion of mass education had not been uniform in the various parts of the Province. Like the vegetation of Bengal—tropical in its luxuriance in alluvial plains, but scanty in laterite stretches—schools had sprung up in profusion where the people had learnt to set some store by education; but they were sparse indeed in the Districts inhabited by backward races and aborigines. In these tracts of country the Government had endeavoured to create a taste for literacy by opening schools, and maintaining them on funds placed first with the Council of Education; then with the Director of Public Instruction; then with Committees of Public Instruction; and finally with District Boards. Owing to their character they were originally designated “maintained schools,” but later on “Board Schools.” It was not, however, at any time intended that they should remain permanently a charge on the public purse. On the contrary, the avowed policy was to transfer them to the list of “aided schools” directly the people of a locality were found to be willing and able to conduct an efficient school in their midst.

Under normal conditions the process of transference would have been a comparatively slow one. But the chronic insufficiency of funds allotted to District Boards for primary education so expedited the premature conversion of "Board Schools," into "aided schools" that by the year 1905 they had come to be regarded more or less as survivals of an obsolete system; and it could hardly be said that they figured as an important factor in the organisation of vernacular education.

Board Schools in Eastern Bengal and Assam.

Happily, on the Partition of Bengal in 1905, the Government of the newly-formed Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, saw in truer perspective the utility of Board Schools, and resolved upon making them the central point in a system of popular education. It was decided to secure the distribution of primary schools on a geographical basis. For this purpose a unit of area was in requisition, and it was found in the *Panchayati* Unions. These were being employed in a scheme of village self-government; and apart from their being ready to hand as small compartments into which every District was divided, here was an excellent opportunity for co-ordinating educational operations with an interesting experiment in rural administration.

Board Schools in Panchayati Unions.

If schools were to be evenly distributed, the first thing to be done was to see that each *Panchayati* Union had at least one school. Accordingly, a survey was made to ascertain which *Panchayati* Unions had no lower primary school whatever, with the object of establishing in them one such school. When all Unions had one lower primary school, it would be time to provide each Union with an upper primary school. To give effect to this general design, each District Board would prepare a considered programme for the coming year by studying the *thana* maps which showed the boundaries of Unions, and marked the sites of existing lower and upper primary schools, and Board Schools, if any. The final selection of a village for a school

would depend upon a plot of land being made over to the District Board by a simple deed of gift, and on the site so provided, a school-house would be built at a cost of Rs. 600, with, or without, but preferably with, a contribution of Rs. 100 from the villagers. The salary of trained teachers would be Rs. 7 to Rs. 9 ; of untrained teachers, Rs. 5 ; of monitors in large schools, Rs. 3 ; and the income from fees would be divided among the teachers if there should be more than one teacher.

In Eastern Bengal and Assam there were some 4,700 *Panchayati* Unions. When in 1912 the dismembered parts of Bengal were again brought under one administration, 2,000 Unions in the Eastern Districts had upper primary schools, and 1,110 had lower primary schools. There, therefore, remained 1,600 Unions to be provided with a school. Meanwhile, in the Western Districts (including Bihar and Orissa) but little, if anything, had been done to develop the Board School system. The example of Eastern Bengal, however, had not been lost ; for proposals had been matured in Western Bengal for the expenditure of a sum of Rs. 5,47,000 during the years 1913 to 1916 upon the extension of the *Panchayati* Union Scheme. But the outbreak of war in Europe demanded retrenchments on every hand, and the project of making a geographical distribution of primary schools throughout Reconstituted Bengal had to be held in abeyance.

V. CIRCLE SCHOOL SYSTEM ABOLISHED.

For a time the Circle School System of 1855 prospered, and in 1891-92 there were no less than 345 Circle Schools. But so considerably had education advanced in the interval that 222 of the schools had grown into middle schools, and 107 into upper primary schools, leaving only 16 lower primary schools. This was eminently satisfactory, for the system had been inaugurated in backward tracts only to pave the way for the ultimate introduction there of grant-in-aid schools. It therefore now became the practice for Inspectors to declare that the Circle System had outlived

the circumstances which had called it into being. They pointed out that syllabuses had, from time to time, been so amplified that it was a physical impossibility for the Circle Pandit to overtake the work which years ago might have been within his potentialities; and that so many educational milestones had been passed since the scheme had been introduced, that it was now an anachronism. In 1902 the Director of Public Instruction made a comprehensive study of the position, and he discovered that in some so-called Circles a single lower primary school was both the centre and the circumference of the Circle—its neighbours having risen to be upper primary, and even middle vernacular and middle English schools. In these circumstances it seemed that the system had served its purpose, and that it should be terminated. Final action, however, was postponed, till in 1911 orders were issued disintegrating the Circles, and making suitable provision for the Circle Pandits who were pensionable Government servants.

VI. THE EXPANSION OF PRIMARY EDUCATION IN BENGAL FROM 1886 TO 1912.

(N.B.—Comparative Statements are possible only after 1885, up to which year the different departments of a school were shown in the Annual Returns as distinct institutions.)

Starting Point 1886.	Headings.	1891.	1896.	1901.	1906(c).	1912.
5.1	Number of square miles to a school	?	4.6	5	3.6	4
?	Number of villages to a school	?	?	4.7	4.4	3.8
Rs. 48	Annual cost of a primary school	Rs. 58	Rs. 67	Rs. 66	Rs. 74.5	Rs. 81.6
Rs. 2.3	„ „ per pupil „ „	Rs. 2.4	Rs. 2.3	Rs. 2.5	Rs. 2.7	Rs. 2.8
22	Average number in a primary school	24	27	26	28	30.9
10,80,389(a)	Percentage of increase in number of pupils	?	10.7	-2.5	14	16(b)
48 487(a)	Percentage of increase in number of primary schools	?	2.2	-7.5	5	6.5
405,967(a)	Percentage of pupils not reading print	34	?	27.4	36	34
22.99	Percentage of boys of school-going age in school	22.30	25.22	23.17	24.4	25.4
1.58	Percentage of girls of school-going age in school	1.61	1.93	1.74	3	3.4
?	Percentage of trained teachers...	?	.4	1	5.6	11.4

(a) Actuals. (b) There was no advance in Upper Primary Schools during the last 15 years. Total increase of pupils in the last 20 years amounts to 400,000. (c) For Western Bengal only.

VII. THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE OF VERNACULAR EDUCATION.

The Government of India, on the 21st of February, 1913, issued a Resolution in which was thus outlined the policy towards vernacular education :—

- (1) Subject to the principle that the steady raising of the standard of existing institutions should not be postponed to increasing their number, when the new institutions cannot be efficient without a better-trained and better-paid teaching staff, there should be a large expansion of lower primary schools teaching the Three R's, with drawing, knowledge of the village map, nature study, and physical exercises.
- (2) Simultaneously upper primary schools should be established at suitable centres, and lower primary schools should, where necessary, be developed into upper primary schools.
- (3) Expansion should be secured by means of Board Schools, except where this is financially impossible, when aided schools under recognised management should be encouraged. In certain tracts liberal subsidies may advantageously be given to *maktabs*, *patshalas*, and the like which are ready to undertake simple vernacular teaching of general knowledge. Reliance should not be placed on "venture schools," unless by subjecting themselves to suitable management and to inspection they earned recognition.
- (4) It is not practicable at present in most parts of India to draw any great distinction between the curricula of rural and of urban primary schools. But in the latter class of schools there is special scope for practical teaching of geography, school excursions, etc., and nature

study should vary with the environment, and some other forms of simple knowledge of the locality might advantageously be substituted for the study of the village map. As competent teachers become available a greater differentiation in the courses will be possible.

- (5) Teachers should be drawn from the class of the boys whom they will teach ; they should have passed the middle vernacular examination, or been through a corresponding course, and should have undergone a year's training. Where they have passed through only the upper primary course and have not already had a sufficient experience in a school, a two years' course of training is generally desirable. This training may, in the first instance, be given in small local institutions, but preferably, as funds permit, in larger and more efficient central normal schools. In both kinds of institutions adequate practising schools are a necessary adjunct, and the size of the practising school will generally determine the size of the normal school. As teachers left to themselves in villages are liable to deterioration, there are great advantages in periodical repetition and improvement courses for primary school teachers during the school vacations.
- (6) Trained teachers should receive not less than Rs. 12 per month (special rates being given in certain areas) ; they should be placed in a graded service ; and they should either be eligible for a pension or admitted to a provident fund.
- (7) No teacher should be called upon to instruct more than 50 pupils ; probably the number should be 30 or 40 ; and it is desirable to have a separate teacher for each class or standard.

- (8) The continuation schools known as middle or secondary vernacular schools should be improved and multiplied.
- (9) Schools should be housed in sanitary and commodious but inexpensive buildings.

CHAPTER IX.

Educational Reforms and Progress from 1886 to 1912.

I. CURRICULA OF VERNACULAR SCHOOLS.

In Bengal, the twenty years following 1886 may be characterised as a period of dissatisfaction with existing vernacular syllabuses, and of reaching out to new ideals : a period of conferences and committees—all in quest of improved curricula and of effective grant-in-aid systems. The leading, again, came from England ; only the response in India was quicker than before, thanks to an accelerated over-land service. Accordingly, as subservient to a better understanding of the educational movements to be described in this chapter, a brief preliminary survey of school reform in England from 1870 to 1910 will not be out of place.

Résumé of Elementary Education in England from 1870 to 1910.

The passing of Mr. Forster's Act of 1870 resulted in the creation of School Boards, the expansion of the school curriculum, and a great advance in the number of children attending school. From 1875 to 1882 the course of studies of the lower classes in elementary schools was broadened. Moral training was emphasised. Increased attention was paid to English. First-hand observation was insisted upon in the science subjects. Domestic training for girls rose in importance. The Code of 1882 added a new class, Standard VII, to the top of the school ; continued to lay stress on a sound knowledge of English ; and gave, through the award of special grants,

a further impetus to the training of girls in practical subjects.

In 1886 a Royal Commission was appointed to enquire into the working of the Elementary Education Act. The Report of the Commission, published in 1888, recommended that the following subjects should be regarded as essential to primary education:—the three R's: needle-work (for girls) and linear drawing (for boys): singing: English: English History taught through reading books: Geography, especially of the British Empire: lessons on common objects in the lower standards, leading up to a knowledge of elementary science in the higher classes. The Code of 1890 endeavoured to introduce the improvements contemplated by the Commission; and the period up to 1895 was marked by a great increase in the number of school hours given to Science, Mathematics, Commercial Subjects, Domestic Subjects (for girls); and Manual Subjects (for boys). Meanwhile, the importance of the purely literary side of the curriculum declined. In 1900 the grant-in-aid system, which had been in force since 1862, and by which the choice of school subjects had been regulated by the money value of each subject—an evil inseparable from a payment-by-result system—was abolished in favour of the “block grant” system, which instituted a single principal grant of 22 shillings, or 21 shillings. An immediate improvement followed in the selection of subjects to be taught, for teachers and managers of schools were now able, within reasonable limits, to choose what subjects they would teach, without being fettered by sordid considerations as to the probable effect of their choice upon examination results, and therefore upon the financial stability of the school. The series of Codes from 1903 to 1910 gave a freer hand to schools in the choice of subjects and in the handling of the lessons. “If it be asked,* ‘What are the general tendencies that underlie the changes made in recent years in the

**Report of the Board of Education for the year 1910-11.*

curriculum of the Public Elementary School ?' the answer must be somewhat as follows:—The child's life in school is being brought into closer relation with his life out of school; the barrier which tradition has erected between the two is being broken down. Education is less bookish and more practical than it was. In almost every subject in the curriculum, in English and Arithmetic hardly less than in Nature Study and Geography, the teacher of to-day uses the materials and experiences with which the children are familiar in every-day life. These materials and experiences vary with the locality in which the school is placed and with the probable occupations and interests of the children in the days to come. Hence follow (a) the increasing difference between schools in one area and those in another, especially between town and country schools, and (b) the growing divergence, after a certain stage, between the education of the boy and that of the girl. At the same time the influence of the school is spreading more and more widely over the whole sphere of the child's interests and activities. The school concerns itself with his bodily as well as with his mental development, with his amusements as well as with his labours; it teaches him to use his hands as well as his head, to play as well as to work."

Dr. Voelcker recommends Agriculture as a School Subject.

For some time past the conviction had been gaining in intensity that the scheme of studies prescribed for vernacular schools must be thoroughly recast, and, as in England, brought into touch with the child's every-day life. Fortunately, in 1889, it so happened that Dr. Voelcker, Agricultural Chemist to the Royal Society, came on deputation to India to advise the Imperial Government on questions connected with agriculture. He recommended, among other things, that elementary instruction in agricultural operations should be imparted in primary schools. In

1890 a representative committee considered his preliminary report; and resolved (1) that it was most desirable to extend primary education among the agricultural classes; (2) that the elementary principles of agriculture should form a prominent subject in the curriculum of village schools; and (3) that, as a general rule, instruction in agriculture should be combined with the existing course of education, and should not depend *exclusively* on separate special institutions. Dr. Voelcker's final proposals were referred to a second conference, who resolved further (1) that education in the lower schools should be of such a practical character as to fit the pupils for technical pursuits, including agriculture, as well as for literary and commercial pursuits; (2) that text-books should deal with familiar subjects, and be written in simple language; (3) that object lessons should be freely introduced; and (4) that the system of training in normal schools should be so adapted as to qualify school teachers to give intelligent instruction in agriculture. The Government of India approved the recommendations, and expressed the view that primary education should be given more of a practical bias; that it should be planned so as to train the hand, the eye, and the intelligence of the pupil; and that "any system of practical education in rural schools must, for whatever class intended, acquire an agricultural colouring, because the surrounding objects are themselves agricultural; . . . that greater success was to be expected from making instruction in the rudiments of agriculture part and parcel of the system of primary education in the country, than from teaching it as a subject apart from the general educational programme; and that such educational enlightenment and intellectual expansion of the agricultural classes as would enable them to perceive for themselves the small reforms which are within their means and opportunities, would be more likely to produce substantial results than special instruction in particular agricultural processes."

Sir Charles Elliott causes the Syllabus of Vernacular Education in Bengal to be thoroughly remodelled.

Sir Charles Elliott, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, took counsel of a committee as to the best means of giving effect to the intentions of the Government of India in respect of the direction that should be given to primary education. The committee recommended that the course in science in elementary and middle schools should be recast, and so graduated as to include at different stages appropriate branches of the science of agriculture. Sir Charles Elliott, however, was not disposed to acquiesce ; for he held that the whole system of vernacular education stood in need of remodelling. Accordingly, in 1898 he appointed a committee of educational experts to revise the subjects and courses of instruction in vernacular schools of all grades ; and although it was understood that the chief problem was to devise curricula meeting the special requirements of the agricultural population of the Province, it was emphasised that the principal question to be answered was not merely how the children of cultivators might be provided with an education suited to their every-day life, but how a scheme of education might be evolved which would promote in all pupils the power of assimilating technical instruction of any kind.

The Vernacular Scheme of 1901.

The committee finally elaborated a system of education which was designated the Vernacular Education Scheme of 1901. It included a method of Kindergarten based on the every-day experiences of village life, and requiring such articles as are to be found in even the obscurest hamlets. In the teaching of the lower primary classes, object lessons were assigned a prominent place ; and in the upper and middle school classes they graded into elementary physical science. Freehand drawing and drill were introduced for every class. Hand and eye training were begun in the lowest forms, and were eventually supplemented by manual occupations as “optionals”—so that

they might not offend caste susceptibilities. For town-boys the course in reading included elementary notions of the simplest facts and principles of botany, natural history, hygiene, physical science and chemistry. For boys in the country, agriculture took the place of physical science and chemistry. For girls, the subjects included in the readers were rudimentary botany, natural science and domestic economy. Special readers, it was decided, should be prepared in the simplest and most easily comprehended language, and pictorial illustrations were to be freely used in explanation of the text. The course in writing was planned so as to make the children familiar with the usual forms of such simple documents as are commonly used by cultivators. Elementary practical geometry was taken along with mensuration, and in Standards V and VI of Middle Schools Euclid was permitted as an alternative subject to Practical Geometry. Under the head of Vernacular Literature and Poetry it was intended that moral instruction should be conveyed by the character of the selections composing the Readers. Preparation for the Upper Primary and Middle Scholarship Examinations required acquaintance with a book of literature, a Geographical Reader, and an Historical Reader. The scheme came into full operation in 1903.

The Merits claimed for the Vernacular Scheme.

The Government Resolution on the Vernacular Education Scheme explained that the latter was shaped by two main considerations – “the first and most important being that a child’s earliest education must be conveyed through a language medium which is familiar to him ; while the second is the most natural and proper desire that education should not alienate children from their own environment.” Further, the scheme was so conceived that by it children would be trained and educated, and not instructed or merely taught ; and those who would in after-life follow any trade or handicraft, would have a far better preparation than that which had been

afforded by the old and narrower system of the past. In a word, the minds of children would now be developed instead of their memories being vainly taxed.

Some of the Defects in the Scheme.

The framers of the Scheme overlooked the possibility of there being in a school, as there not infrequently are, children who have different vernaculars, and for whom text-books in diverse vernaculars must be used if each child is to be educated through the medium of its own mother-tongue. And even granting that it was quite feasible to have editions of the same Readers in all the vernaculars, there was the further difficulty that the teachers would probably know only one language, and would therefore be unable to teach all the children through their own speech. Nor was this the only obstacle to success. The spirit and method of the teaching contemplated by the Vernacular Scheme was entirely strange to the great majority of primary school *gurus*; and it was not to be expected that they would handle the new subjects, such as kindergarten occupations, drill, and object lessons, with any degree of skill. "It is almost certain," observed Sir John Woodburn, the Lieutenant-Governor, "they will teach these subjects badly: but what is contended is that the teaching cannot be worse than the present entirely mechanical system of training the memory whereby all the other faculties are dulled at the expense of monotonous, parrot-like exercises. It is urged that bad teaching with a good educational system will produce better results than bad teaching with a bad and unsound system." To his thinking, the position was not beyond hope, for there were in Bengal, 16,444 primary schools (out of 47,714) that presented candidates at the scholarship examinations, and the presumption was that the *gurus* of these schools were experienced and, some of them at least, trained teachers. The new syllabus would not be entirely beyond them, and it would be a fair start if the Vernacular system were made compulsory in such schools. Moreover, Teachers' Manuals

in due course would be in the hands of all primary school teachers, and as year by year training schools sent forth masters trained to the revised curriculum, more and more schools would annually come under the influence of an improved system of education. Sir John Woodburn saw an opening for the Vernacular Scheme also in the lower classes of High Schools, and he ordered that it should be employed in all Government and aided schools of that grade.* To put aided High Schools on friendly terms with the Vernacular Scheme, he declared that they would in future be permitted to present pupils at the primary scholarship examinations. At first blush this did not appear to involve the destruction of any established principle ; but in point of fact it brought to an abrupt termination the "Dual System of Education"† which for many years had been the central idea in the organization of education in Bengal. This was most unfortunate ; for the identification of "primary education" and the "primary stage of education" obliterated the fundamental difference which there must always be in the education of a boy whose education will cease with the elements of knowledge, and of a boy whose education will only begin when he has quitted an elementary school. This concomitant of the Vernacular Scheme escaped attention. Not so the ruling that no instruction was to be given in English till Standard III ; from which class up to Standard VI it was to be treated as a Second Language. The postponement of the study of English was regarded as a regrettable and retrograde step,‡ one that ignored the facility with which a child acquires a foreign language, and that let slip the

* It should be mentioned that during the immediately preceding years, in the "Amalgamated" High Schools of the Presidency and Rajshahi Divisions, it already had been the practice to instruct the pupils of the lower forms through the medium of the vernacular exclusively.

† See page 259.

‡ In 1896-97 the number of pupils in Vernacular Middle Schools reading English was 10,342, and in Primary Schools, 1,706. The Director of Public Instruction in his Annual Report observed that in large towns like Calcutta, "the object of primary education would be defeated without a knowledge of the English alphabet and English numerals to enable the possessor to decipher trade-marks, and understand calculations on the European System of weights and measures."

opportunity of making "English a possession common to all Indians."

The Vernacular Education Scheme of 1906.

The Vernacular Education Scheme of 1901 had barely been introduced, when the Government of India published their Resolution of the 11th March 1904. Paragraph 21 of the Resolution stated—"The instruction of the masses in such subjects as will best fit them for their position in life involves some differentiation in the courses for rural schools, especially in connection with the attempts which are being made to connect primary teaching with familiar objects. . . . The main aim of rural schools should be, not to impart definite agricultural teaching, but to give the children a preliminary training which will make them intelligent cultivators, will train them to be observers, thinkers, and experimenters in however humble a manner, and will protect them in their business transactions with the landlords to whom they pay rent, and the grain dealers to whom they dispose of their crops. The reading books prescribed should be written in simple language, not in unfamiliar literary style, and should deal with topics associated with rural life. The grammar taught should be elementary, and only native systems of arithmetic should be used. The village map should be thoroughly understood, and a most useful course of instruction may be given in the accountant's papers, enabling every boy, before leaving school, to master the intricacies of the village accounts, and to understand the demands made upon the cultivator."

To the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir Andrew Fraser, it appeared that the sentiments of the Government of India, as stated in their Resolution of the 11th March, 1904, reopened the whole question of the programme of studies for the children of the agrarian population. He therefore appointed a committee to examine and report upon the position. They found that the principal blemishes in the Vernacular Scheme of 1901

were (1) that the courses of study were too long, too advanced, and too diffused for rural school; (2) that the text-books approved by the Department, and in use in the schools, were in language so adulterated with Sanskrit as to be unintelligible to country folk. They concurred in the view of the India Government that it was essential that the instruction of children in elementary agriculture should be based upon the activities of the pupils themselves, who should be trained to observe and compare the objects by which they were surrounded, and to reason about them. Whatever may have been the intention of the 1901 Scheme, its outcome had been that reading *about* things had taken the place of a first-hand study of the things as things, and consequently the faculty of observation had not been developed in pupils. The Committee offered a revised syllabus which they hoped would be free from the defects of the curricula of 1901, and which they had constructed in accordance with the principle that the verities that underlie the culture of every child's faculties are the same whether the child's environment be the country or the town. They made no different syllabus for village and city children, but intended that whereas the supplementary subjects should be compulsory in town schools, they should be optional in rural *patshalas*. Their scheme of work for girls differed in a few points from that drawn up for boys, and special courses were outlined in hygiene and domestic economy, to which subjects needlework was added. The spirit of reform was extended through the Upper Primary and Middle School courses, and although English might be taught from Standard III upwards, the vernacular was to be the sole medium of instruction in all classes, and in all types of schools from the Infant Classes on to Standard VI which marked the termination of Vernacular education. The revised syllabus was published under authority in 1907, and was in full working in Lower Primary Schools by 1910.

The following Table institutes a comparison between the Vernacular Schemes of 1901 and 1906.

LOWER PRIMARY COURSE.

<i>Course of 1901.</i>	<i>Course of 1906.</i>
Reading—Text-book.	Reading.
Reading—Manuscripts.	Handwriting.
Handwriting.	Science Primers.
Literature book, including lessons in Geography.	Arithmetic—European and Indian; slate and mental.
Arithmetic—European and Indian; slate and mental.	Drawing.
Subankari.	School Drill.
Hygienc.	Object Lessons on the sky, air and the subjects in the Science Primers.
	Manual Work (optional) for boys.
	Needlework for girls.
Total Course of Reading—274 pp.	Total Course of Reading—179 pp.

UPPER PRIMARY COURSE.

<i>Course of 1901.</i>	<i>Course of 1906.</i>
Drawing.	Freehand Drawing.
Object Lessons—Water and its action. Subjects in the Science Reader.	Object Lessons—Water and its action. Subjects in the Science Reader.
Manual Training—(optional) for boys.	Manual Work—(optional) for boys.
Needlework—(optional) for girls.	Needlework—(optional) for girls.
Drill.	Drill.
Writing—including composition.	Writing—including documents.
Arithmetic—European and Indian.	Arithmetic—European and Indian.
Bengali Reader (Science).	Science Primer.
History—of Bengal.	Historical Reader.
Geography—of the World and Bengal.	Geographical Reader.
Euclid—Book I, 26 propositions.	Practical Geometry.
Mensuration—elementary.	Mensuration—elementary.
Literature—including simple Grammar.	Literature—Prose and Poetry.
English—(optional in Middle English Schools).	Grammar.
	English—(optional in Middle English Schools).
Total Course of Reading—815 or 955 pp.	Total Course of Reading—490 pp.

The Vernacular Scheme under-estimated the Teaching-power requisite to effective Teaching in Primary Schools.

As will be remembered, the indigenous schools of earlier days were not organised into classes, nor was there in them a standardised course of lessons. In these circumstances, it may have been possible for one *guru* to teach each pupil all that he was expected to learn in a day. The Vernacular Scheme, however, designed a Lower Primary School upon the basis of four distinct classes, each with a group of scheduled studies to be taught in strict adherence to a sample time-table of daily lessons. Obviously the tale of work was more than one teacher could perform. The originators of the Scheme either overlooked this fact, or they yielded to the silencing argument of "no funds," when they announced that "one teacher aided by two or four monitors* or pupil-teachers is expected to teach successfully a Lower Primary School, and two teachers with monitors an Upper Primary School." They surely forgot that the monitor system had never flourished in Bengal as it had, for instance, in the Madras Presidency, and that indeed everywhere in Bengal it had already fallen into desuetude.—In spite, therefore, of their hope that the new syllabus would be taught by a teacher assisted by monitors, as a matter of fact in all schools the whole burden of class work† had to be undertaken, and even now is being attempted, by one solitary teacher, who, to earn his small grant, vainly endeavours—if he has not abandoned the attempt—to teach a multiplicity of subjects, perhaps in an over-crowded room, to four different classes. ‡

* While the Government Resolution on the Vernacular Scheme admitted that the generality of *gurus* would not be competent to teach the new subjects effectively unless they received a training in the Guru Training Schools, the Committee that framed the Vernacular Scheme counted on the assistance which boys of 10 to 14 years would give their presumably incompetent *guru* in the school room!

† Hours per week :—Infant Class, first year, 17 hours: second year, 24 hours. Standard I, 24 hours; Standard II, 24 hours. Total, 89 hours a week.

‡ The picture of his struggle recalls the experience of one of Her Majesty, Queen Victoria's, Inspectors of Schools, when in 1897 he visited a rural school in the Sheffield District :—

"I spent an afternoon in a village school. The number present was 44; 35 of these were spread over the first five Standards, and 9 infants were in two groups. Thus the master, a man of 60 years, had seven classes to teach. And he had no help whatever,

CHAPTER X.

Schemes for the Instruction of Muhammadans, Women and Teachers.

I. EDUCATION OF MUHAMMADANS.

It will be remembered that in the days of Mr. Adam's report Musalmans had no elementary schools of their own, and that but few Muhammadans attended the Hindu *patshalas*. To a small extent they favoured "domestic education," but the teaching imparted by private tutors was of the poorest description. The Persian and Arabic Madrasahs were not schools in the proper sense; but seminaries of religious and classical instruction. From an early date Government had contemplated with concern and disappointment the failure of Muhammadans to appreciate the measures introduced for the dissemination of knowledge among the masses; and the periodic enquiry into the obstacles which beset the social and educational progress of Islamites seemed to point to the conclusion that the conservatism of the East reached its high water level in the lives of Musalmans. Lord Mayo, in his Resolution of 1871, expressed regret that so large and important a class should anywhere stand aloof from active participation in the improved educational system of the country, and thus lose the advantages, both material and social, which

except for the Needlework. I sat in the school and watched him with deep interest. Seven classes were to be kept going. How would it be done? First, the two groups of infants were set to copy some letters that had been put on the blackboard; then Standard I was set to transcription; IV and V worked sums from their arithmetics; and the master gave the object-lesson for the day to II and III combined. This lesson was remarkable; it was broken in so many pieces. A boy would stand up in IV or V and say, 'Please, Sir!' The master would turn from his class, ask the interrupter for his difficulty, give him a hint, or step to his side, and quickly returning, pick up the thread of the broken lesson as best he might. Or with a side glance he would observe a boy or girl apparently stuck in a sum; and 'Are you fast? Tell me if you are fast' was thrown encouragingly again and again to the group at Arithmetic. Two or three excursions to the infants, a hasty inspection, from his place, of the Standard I transcription, an order to clean slates and refill them; such breaks were constantly recurring; yet on through it all went the object-lesson."

The Inspector's only comment is—

- (1) What an impossible task;
- (2) What a strain upon the teacher;
- (3) What a waste of the children's time.

The efforts of the master to meet the demands upon him were pathetic." Who is there that would not endorse this?

other subjects of the Empire enjoyed. He desired that it should be otherwise, and he accordingly directed that further and more systematic encouragement and recognition should be given to the classical and vernacular languages of the Muhammadans in Government schools and colleges; that assistance should be given to Musalmans by grants-in-aid to enable them to open schools of their own; and that greater inducements should be provided for the creation of a literature in their vernaculars.

*Lord Northbrook and the Education Commission of 1882
on the Causes of Muhammadan Backwardness.*

In 1873 Lord Northbrook reviewed the situation. He found that wherever the prevailing vernacular was Hindustani or Urdu, the Muhammadans occupied their proper numerical position in the primary or secondary schools maintained or aided by the State. But where, on the other hand, they spoke a language different from that of the majority of the population, or not written in the Persian character, the claims of the Musalman community had been disregarded, inasmuch as the special measures necessary to meet the circumstance had not always been organised. But whereas Lord Northbrook laid stress on the educational difficulties which hampered Muhammadans, the Education Commission of 1882 were of opinion that many causes had combined to a general result; and that "a candid Muhammadan would probably admit that the most powerful factors are to be found in pride of race, a memory of by-gone superiority, religious fears, and a not unnatural attachment to the learning of Islam." Elsewhere in their Report they pointed out that "apart from the social and historical conditions of the Muhammadan community in India, there are causes of a strictly educational character which heavily weight it in the race of life. The teaching of the mosque must precede the lessons of the school. The one object of a young Hindu is to obtain an education which will fit him for an official or professional career. But before the

young Muhammadan is allowed to turn his thoughts to secular instruction, he must commonly pass some years in going through a course of sacred learning. The Muhammadan boy, therefore, enters school later than the Hindu. In the second place, he very often leaves school at an earlier age. The Muhammadan parent belonging to the better classes, is usually poorer than the Hindu parent in a corresponding social position. He cannot afford to give his son so complete an education. In the third place, irrespectively of his worldly means, the Muhammadan parent often chooses for his son while at school an education which will secure him an honoured place among the learned of his own community, rather than one which will command success in the modern professions or in official life. The years which the young Hindu gives to English and Mathematics in a public school, the young Muhammadan devotes in a Madrasah to Arabic, and the law and the theology of Islam. When such an education is complete, it is to the vocation of a man of learning, rather than to the more profitable professions, that the thoughts of a promising Muhammadan youth naturally turn. The above are the three principal causes of an educational character which retard the prosperity of the Musalmans."

*Recommendations of the Education Commission
in Respect of Muhammadan Education.*

The recommendations of the Education Commission in respect of Muhammadan education were as follows :— Indigenous schools for Muhammadans should be encouraged by liberal grants to add purely secular subjects to their curriculum. In public primary and middle schools, Hindustani, as the Muhammadan vernacular, should be freely recognised. Scholarships and free-studentships should be introduced for the exclusive benefit of Muhammadans. Special provision should be made to increase the number of Muhammadan teachers and inspecting officers. The extended employment of Muhammadans in the public offices should be commended to the Local Governments.

In making these recommendations the Commissioners felt they had possibly erred on the side of too great a liberality, and gone counter to the well-established principle that "special encouragement to any class is in itself an evil." They considered, however, that the peculiar circumstances attending Muhammadan life and modes of thought called for exceptional treatment; and they ventured the observation that it would be a reproach to the Musalmans "if the pride they have shown in other matters does not stir them up to a course of honourable activity; to a determination that whatever their backwardness in the past, they will not suffer themselves to be outstripped in the future; to a conviction that self-help and self-sacrifice are at once nobler principles of conduct and surer paths to worldly success than sectarian reserve, or the hope of exceptional indulgence."

The Recommendations of the Commission criticised.

The recommendations of the Commission for the improvement of Muhammadan education did not escape adverse criticism. It was objected that, in the first place, it was not to the best interests of the Muhammadans themselves that they should be offered special facilities for learning Hindustani and Urdu, instead of being obliged to gain a proficient knowledge of the vernacular of the District and of the local courts of justice. Secondly, the spirit of separatism had served the Muhammadans but ill, and it would only be further accentuated by the establishment of special schools for them. Indeed, it was not understood why a Bengali speaking Hindi or Bengali should claim Urdu as his vernacular so soon as he became a Muhammadan. Lastly, it was unfair to other communities to establish special scholarships for Muhammadans.

The India Government accept the Recommendations of the Education Commission in respect of Muhammadan Education.

After careful consideration of the objections raised against the recommendations of the Commission, the India Government accepted the views of that body, in a

Resolution dated the 15th July 1885—the first important official document on the education of Musalmans. The Government of Bengal, however, did not regard with favour the principle of having special schools for Muhammadans, since “Muhammadan boys could not begin too early to learn the lessons of tolerance and emulation in association with those amid whom their lives were to be spent.” In these circumstances it was resolved that maktabas should be encouraged to introduce, in however elementary a form, secular subjects of instruction ; and that in Bihar Hindustani, in the Nagri or Kaithi character, should be fostered and developed alike for Hindu and Muhammadan pupils.

The Attempt to instruct Muhammadans in Bengal in Patshalas and through Bengali did not prosper.

The supposition that Muhammadans would take kindly to an education communicated through the vernacular of the Bengali-speaking Districts of Bengal Proper was ill founded. In due time the Muhammadan Assistant Inspectors appointed to look after the education of their co-religionists, reported that the Musalmans of Bengal generally preferred Urdu to Bengali—chiefly because of reasons connected with their form of religion ; that the great majority of *mianjis* were incapable of teaching the secular subjects required of them ; and that the monthly stipends would attract a better class of *mianjis* than those who were satisfied with the reward system of remuneration.* These unfavourable conditions were not, however, the complete explanation of the backwardness of Muhammadans in the matter of mass education. There was another, and not unimportant, consideration advanced for their holding aloof from such opportunities as were afforded them by a sympathetic but perplexed Government, and that was the fact that the Muhammadans

* Maulvi Abdul Karim, one of the Assistant Inspectors, thus described the attainments of the maktab *mianjis* :—“In most cases the *Mianjis* are illiterate men who are acquainted only with the Arabic alphabet, and some of them have been heard to boast that they learnt to recite the Koran without even that knowledge.”—*Muhammadan Education in Bengal*.

looked with disfavour on the Education Department, few of whose officers had sufficient knowledge of Urdu, Arabic or Persian, to inspect Muhammadan schools, or do them any good.

Statistics of Muhammadan Vernacular Education (Boys).

Institutions.	Percentage of Muhammadans.					
	1886	1892	1897	1902	1907	1912
<i>Public Institutions—</i>						
Middle Vernacular ...	13·7	15·9	77·7	?	14·5	32·2*
Upper Primary ...	17·5	19·5	22·4	27·3	13·9	44·3*
Lower Primary ...	29·2	28·6	29·8			
<i>Private Institutions—</i>						
Advanced ...	?	39·7	38·5	?	49·8	99·1*
Elementary ...	?	26·3	20·9	?	9·4	66·5*
Koran only ...	?	99·9	99·9	?	100	100
Unrecognised Schools ...	?	39·2	27·4	?	13·4	33·1

*The sudden rise in these figures is due to the special measures employed between 1905 to 1911 in Western Bengal, and more particularly in Eastern Bengal to foster Muhammadan Education, and to the official recognition of maktabas on the same footing as primary schools, provided that they adopted Departmental standards.

Description of Maktabas.

“Maktabas,” says the Director’s Annual Report for 1886-87, “are of two classes—one teaching Arabic or advanced Persian, and generally attached to mosques or *imambaras*, and supported by endowments, and the second the ordinary schools kept by teachers (*mianjis*), appointed by some well-to-do Hindu or Muhammadan to teach his son. . . . The other pupils are required to pay fees, and to give the customary presents called *Ide* on Muhammadan festivals. The *shah-i-maktab* (the boy for whom the *mianji* is retained) generally pays the highest fee, and in addition boards and lodges the *mianji*. The average income of a *mianji* is Rs. 5 a month, besides his board and lodgings. The rule among the Muhammadans is to perform the ceremony styled ‘maktab,’ a boy’s first step in the road of learning, on the day he is four years, four months and four days old ; but this is not invariably observed now. The hours of study are in the day from 6 to 9, 11 to 2, 3 to 6 and 7 to 9 at night The *mianjis* also serve as village priests or *mullahs*, and get small sums during marriages and at burials.” The Urdu taught, when it

was taught, was without definite purpose, having no organisation whatever.

Sir Alfred Croft's Maktab Scheme.

In 1891 Sir Alfred Croft, Director of Public Instruction, outlined a comprehensive scheme for the organisation and development of mass education among the Muhammadans of Bengal. His plan was by means of stipends to encourage the Urdu and Persian courses usually taught in maktab, provided that in addition some useful vernacular instruction was also imparted. Leaving Koran schools to form a self-contained type of indigenous Muhammadan schools, he arranged maktab into three classes—(1) maktab teaching the ritual of Islam through the medium of Urdu conjointly with the Koran in Arabic; (2) maktab teaching an elementary course of Bengali and arithmetic, along with Urdu or Persian, or both Urdu and Persian, with or without the Koran; and (3) maktab teaching the full Departmental standards appointed for Lower and Upper Primary Schools in the vernacular of the District, with Urdu or Persian thrown in as an extra subject. Maktab of the first type would not be eligible for a grant, but would be offered a registration fee in return for which they would be expected to submit their annual statistical returns. Maktab of the second class would be entitled to the ordinary grant payable to primary schools. Maktab of the third class would receive grants 25 per cent. higher than the grants admissible to primary schools. To set a standard of expectations, Government would establish twelve model maktab, and in appropriate localities have Inspecting Maulvis instead of Inspecting Pandits, so that maktab might improve, and maktab education might become popular.

Further Improvement in Muhammadan Mass Education.

During the Directorate of Mr. (now Sir) Archdale Earle, the numbers of Inspecting Maulvis and of Model Maktab were increased, and ten Guru Training Schools were converted into Mianji Training Schools—thus making it possible for Muhammadan teachers to specialise for

maktab work. The three classes of maktab instituted by Sir Alfred Croft were reduced to two classes—"recognised" and "unrecognised"—according as they adopted or did not adopt the courses of studies prescribed by the Department. These courses extended over a period of four years, and carried pupils to a stage at which they could by easy transition pass into Standard III of an Upper Primary School. For the guidance of *mianjis* in general, and for the study of pupil-teachers in Mianji Training Schools in particular, a Maktab Manual was published, and brought into use.

In order to make maktab conform to Departmental ideals, grants-in-aid were graded on a liberal scale :—

Maktab having the first year class—50 per cent. of the grant to a Lower Primary School.

Maktab having the second year class—100 per cent. of the grant to a Lower Primary School.

Maktab having the third year class—25 per cent. more than the grant to a Lower Primary School.

Maktab having the fourth year class—50 per cent. more than the grant to a Lower Primary School.

In a maktab in which instruction was given also through the medium of a vernacular other than Urdu, an additional teacher was to be engaged, and in consequence the grant would be double that of a Lower Primary School.

How these rates of assistance were appreciated by the *mianjis* is disclosed in the great increase in the number of maktab between the years 1907 and 1912.

N.B.—The year 1907-08 is the first year in which statistics for maktab, *hoc nomine*, are available. In preceding years it was the practice to class as Primary Schools all maktab that conformed to Departmental regulations. From 1911-12 all "recognised maktab" were included under the head "Special—Schools Miscellaneous," and were eligible for aid from District Boards. The expenditure in that year upon maktab was Rs. 2,87,183.

II. EDUCATION IN VERNACULAR GIRLS' SCHOOLS.

In 1887 Standard VII and in 1893 Standard VIII were added to Mrs. Wheeler's gradation of forms in girls' schools. As a result Standard VIII corresponded to the highest class

in a boys' middle vernacular school; Standard VI to the upper primary class; and Standard IV to the lower primary class. It was optional for girls to offer at the scholarship examinations in each Division; but it was preferred that girls should sit to the special girls' schools examinations which had been instituted for all the Standards above Standard III. These examinations were conducted by a central Board at Calcutta, who supplied printed questions to such mofussil schools as wanted them. Where the questions were not requisitioned, it was permissible for local committees to set their own questions and tabulate the results. At the same time two grades of examinations—senior and junior—were arranged for school mistresses. Only girls who had passed beyond Standard VI were eligible for admission into the training schools; and to encourage girls to take a training in teaching rewards of Rs. 80 and Rs. 100 were given to those who qualified by the junior and the senior standard examinations respectively. At the same time, in consequence of the unpopularity of scholarships in view of the usual interruption of a girls' school life at an early age, the scholarships provided under the Calcutta Scheme were converted into money prizes. In the mofussil the attendance of girls was encouraged by the presentation of books, slates, toys and trinkets. In 1893 all grant-in-aid girls' schools were transferred to the exclusive jurisdiction of the Inspectress, subject to the general control of the Inspector; and the Deputy Inspector and his subordinates were withdrawn from the inspection of aided girls' schools, and particularly of girls' schools conducted by missionaries. The grants to girls' schools in and around Calcutta were determined by the results achieved by the pupils at the examinations held for the several Standards, taken in combination with the number of pupils in the school, and the provision made for the reception of boarders. Girls' schools in the outlying Districts were aided from the Primary Funds administered by the Department and by District Boards with occasional contributions from

municipalities.* The amount of grants was generally to the extent of the local contributions from private sources—for, in the absence of school fees, girls' schools had to depend upon the liberality of individuals.

Alterations in the Grant-in-aid Rules for Girls' Schools.

In consequence of the extension to girls' schools of the vernacular scheme of 1901,† the Departmental Standard Examinations of the Calcutta Girls' School System were abolished, and corresponding changes had to be made in the grant-in-aid rules. Payment-by-result made way for payment assessed on the number of pupils and general efficiency. In 1905 the rules underwent further revision, so that the amount of the grant was made dependent upon the number of trained teachers on the staff; the existence of a Committee of Management; and the provision of a suitable school-house. It was ordered that no fees or subscriptions were to be received in primary schools, and, in the case of schools of a higher grade, that the grant was not to exceed the income of schools from private sources, including fees, if any. In 1906-07 a sum of Rs. 55,000 was allotted for distribution in grants to girls' schools in and around Calcutta.

In addition to the special scheme for the education of Indian girls in Calcutta, there were the following less ambitious institutions for the education of their country cousins.

Model Primary Girls' Schools.

Among the schemes suggested by the Simla Conference of 1901 for the advancement of female education, was the proposal that Government model primary schools should be established at convenient centres. The Government of Bengal decided upon giving the recommendation a trial, and in 1902 opened 49 model schools in as many Districts,

* The contribution from Provincial revenues to these schools during 1906-07 represented just under 49 per cent., and to boys' schools just under 17 per cent. of the total Provincial allotment for primary education.

† In 1909 a revised syllabus was introduced for the Infant classes and Standards I and II. It was much the same as that for boys, with needlework and domestic economy added. In 1912 similarly adapted curricula were introduced into Standards III to VI.

and two years later 37 more. From the very outset the schools were failures as models. The school-houses, which in terms of the scheme had to be supplied by the people, were unsuitable; the wages of the teacher—limited to Rs. 13 a month from all sources—failed to attract competent pandits, not to speak of competent school mistresses; and no quarters were provided for the teacher—an omission which debarred women from accepting positions in which they were most wanted if little girls were to be taught anything of sewing and the elements of domestic economy, and older girls were to be induced to continue their school life.

*Girls' Primary Schools in District Board Areas
and in Municipal Towns in 1912.*

The prosperity of these schools depends upon the interest which a member of the District Board or Municipal Corporation happens to take in female education. The schools themselves are badly housed; the pandits underpaid, and all but too old—most of them—for work, although this is generally considered their greatest qualification. Matters will not improve so long as the education of boys is regarded by District Boards as of paramount importance—not till the education of girls comes to be recognised as entitled to a fair participation in the funds allocated to primary instruction.

In Bihar there are several *parda*-schools in the villages, where the bigger girls remain longer than usual at school, since their seclusion is provided for when the inspecting officers visit the institutions. The teacher is a woman of small education, but able to teach sewing and “deportment.” These schools would increase in usefulness if it were possible to train women teachers for them.

Peasant Girls' Schools.

In order “to approach a class of people who are usually averse to female education, and who have not hitherto been affected to any appreciable extent by the ordinary schools so far as female education goes,” in 1910

Government established Peasant Girls' Schools. They were intentionally opened in remote villages, and for this reason they were placed under the supervision of the Divisional Inspector. Costing only Rs. 156 a year, they are less expensive than the Model Primary Schools for girls, and on the whole the work they do is not any more inferior.

The Mahakali Patshala.

In 1893, Her Holiness Mataji Maharani Tapaswini, a Nepali lady, established in Sukea Street, Calcutta, the *Mahakali Patshala*, for the education of girls in general subjects, and more especially in the social and religious obligations of women professing the Hindu Faith. The level of education was higher than that of the ordinary *patshala*, for the pupils were taught Sanskrit, Bengali, Arithmetic, Suvankari, Geography, Indian History of the Hindu period, Elementary Astronomy and the method of consulting and reading the household almanacs, the keeping of domestic accounts, Hygiene, Needlework and Cooking. The birth of this school led to the spread of the movement, for which it stood, into the Districts, and there are *Mahakali Patshalas* in several mofussil towns, working in connection with the association known as the Sri Bharat Duhitri Siksha Parishat. The activities of the Uttarpara Hitakari Sabha have not abated, and its scholarship examinations continue to be held. The Mission Schools, the *Mahakali Patshalas*, and the schools in connection with certain Sabhas, of which the Uttarpara Hitakari Sabha is typical, are the main agencies that provide private institutions as distinguished from Government institutions for the education of girls.

Female Education among the Aborigines.

The education of aboriginal girls offers no special problem for solution, inasmuch as among the aboriginal races there is no *parda* system, no prejudice against co-education, and no (or very little) child-marriage. There are in the Sonthal Pergunnahs and in the Chota Nagpore

Division a few middle schools for girls ; and as there is no feeling against married women being teachers, there is not much difficulty in having women as teachers in girls' schools. The growing practice is to have the husband teach the boys' school and his wife the girls' school in the same, or adjoining, village. The classes for training aboriginal women as teachers are generally well patronised, and the annual output of trained teachers is progressive.

Female Education among Muhammadans.

The education of Muhammadan girls still limps behind that of other races and creeds. In Calcutta some little advance has been made, and in the mofussil there are girls in the maktabas and Koran schools. But on the whole the response to increased educational facilities has been lukewarm if not apathetic, and the general outlook is faintly encouraging.

III. AGENCIES FOR TRAINING TEACHERS AND SUBORDINATE INSPECTORS.

(a) Training Schools for Women.

The urgent necessity of women teachers in girls' schools has at all times been felt ; yet by what means they may be obtained has baffled all thought. The restrictions placed on womenfolk by the social customs of Hindus and Muhammadans alike, have made it well nigh impossible to secure the service of women in girls' schools. Various ingenious plans have been devised and given a trial, but with no success. For instance, in 1907 Government opened four elementary training schools for the wives of village schoolmasters, and Hindu and Muhammadan widows, so that they might conduct small girls' schools in their villages. The training schools proved failures, and were abolished in favour of another experiment. If women would not attend a training school, possibly individual women might consent to receive elementary instruction from their husbands who were village school *gurus*. Accordingly, in Palamau, Bhagalpur and Durbhanga a certain number of *gurus* were

given a monthly stipend, on the understanding that they would teach their wives, and that the latter would in due course open girls' schools in the villages where their husbands had their schools. The *gurus* gaily took their stipend, but as for a new girls' school established by one of the wives, there never was one! Regretfully this other scheme was abandoned.

In the Calcutta System, as has been seen, there was some provision for the preparation of teachers. But even there the possibilities were confined to Christian and Brahmo women. Government held back from any large scheme for training women, realising that it must be left to Missionary and other private societies to prepare the way. In 1902 there were eight aided training schools for women—one in the Burdwan Division, three in the Presidency Division, and four in Calcutta. As a matter of fact these schools advanced their pupils one stage in general education, but imparted to them very little of pedagogic instruction. Later on the Calcutta Hindu Female Training School, and the Badsha Nawab Rezyi Training "College" at Bankipore were started to ascertain what results would be likely to follow on a bold attempt to establish training institutions of a higher type. Both of them were, and are, conducted on strict *parda* principles; but the success attending them has not been signal.

(b) *First Grade Training Schools.*

During the period under review the First Grade Training Schools to some extent standardised the qualifications expected of teachers in middle schools. In 1901 the course of study in them was reduced to two years, part of the time being spent in toning up the general education of the pupil-teachers, and the remainder in giving them a technical knowledge of their profession. The subjects of general education comprised (a) Bengali Literature and Grammar, and Sanskrit (in Bihar, Hindi Literature, and Grammar and Urdu); (b) History of India; (c) General Geography (Bengal in detail) and Physical Geography;

(*d*) Arithmetic and Algebra ; (*e*) Geometry and Mensuration ; (*f*) Elementary Science (Physics, Hygiene, Chemistry, Botany, Agriculture and Natural History) ; (*g*) Drawing and Practical Geometry ; (*h*) Manual Work (Seed-placing, Paper-plaiting, Stick-laying, Clay-modelling, Rope-work, Mat-weaving and Basket-making ; and (*i*) Drill, Manual-work (optional). The pedagogical studies were comparatively low-pitched, being limited to the Junior and Senior Teachers' Manuals which had been prepared for the Training Schools.

An examination was held at the end of each of the two years. Students relinquishing their studies after having passed the First Year Examination, were entitled to the Second Grade Vernacular Mastership Certificate. Those who passed the final examination held at the close of the second year, qualified as Vernacular Masters. Both examinations were open to external candidates who satisfied certain conditions. This concession was unfortunate, inasmuch as it tended to discount the value of a course of training, and increased the difficulties in recruiting men for the schools.

The abolition of the Departmental Examination, known as the Middle Vernacular Scholarship Examination, and its substitution by a local examination held at each middle school by the District Deputy Inspector, resulted in a gradual lowering of the standard of attainments of pupils in the highest class of middle schools—the class from which students were drawn for the First Grade Training Schools. This deterioration of entrant students reacted on the quality of the men who issued from the training schools, and in 1909 Government appointed a Committee to revise the course of studies in them. The Committee recommended, and the Government approved

- (*a*) That the term of training should be extended to three years, the first of which was to be employed in refreshing the memories of the

- students in the work they had already done in past years when they were in a middle school.
- (b) That an examination conducted by the school staff should be held at the end of the first year, and that there should be two departmental examinations, one at the close of the second year and the other at the close of the third year of study.
 - (c) That the last six months of the third year should be spent in visits to local vernacular schools along with a teacher.
 - (d) That the Mathematical and Science courses should be curtailed.
 - (e) That English (optional), Sanitation, Hygiene, and for Muhammadans, Persian, should be added to the curriculum.
 - (f) That Indian Vocal Music should be introduced as an optional subject, and
 - (g) That the course in the Science and the Art of Teaching should be enlarged, and that increased importance should be attached to practical work in the class-room.

The new scheme came into full working in 1911, and graduates in teaching, who were members of the Provincial Service, were placed as Head Masters of the schools. The general efficiency of the institutions has since improved appreciably ; but the students regret that their stipends of Rs. 4 and Rs. 5 are considerably less than the Rs. 7 and Rs. 9 provided for pupil-teachers in the Guru Training Schools. And not only this : the positions thrown open to holders of the Vernacular Mastership Certificate are poorly paid. "The pay of the Training School Pandits," says the First Quinquennial Report, "was fixed at Rs. 20 or Rs. 25 about 40 years ago. Since then the wages of all kinds of labour have doubled or trebled ; but the Pandits' salary has been gradually reduced, so that they seldom get more than Rs. 15, and are often employed on Rs. 10, the wages

of a menial servant." This remark applies with intensified force at the present time.

(c) *Inspecting Agents and Teachers deputed to First Grade Training Schools for a short term.*

The Vernacular Scheme of 1901 contained in it subjects which were new to the genius of the country, and unfamiliar to the majority of those who had to do with primary schools. To give Deputy and Sub-Inspectors some insight into the handling of Kindergarten classes, and Nature Study, etc., they were deputed to attend the Training Schools as casual students for a term of six weeks. During this brief period they attempted to learn something of the art and practice of teaching, and although their stay at the schools might be counted by days, it was hoped that their interest in scientific modes of teaching would be quickened; that they would resume their official duties in a chastened spirit; and be anxious to improve themselves in their profession by private study. On the other hand, the Training Schools regarded them as an element that intruded to the detriment of the serious working of the institutions. Gradually the arrangement fell into disuse, and was finally terminated on the establishment of the University Training Colleges at Calcutta, Dacca and Bankipore.

(d) *Second Grade Training Schools.*

The second grade training schools, of which mention has been made in earlier pages, in course of time began to languish, largely because the degree of specialising in them corresponded to no definite demand. The certificate issued by the schools was supposed to secure to teachers appointments in the lower classes of middle schools. But inasmuch as these positions were available to those who had passed by the middle vernacular examination, there was no apparent point in undergoing a course of technical instruction. Second grade training schools accordingly received abating patronage, until in 1912 their sole survivor was at Daltonganj in the District of Palamau—and it, too, was threatened with dissolution.

(e) Guru Training Classes.

The classes established at various Middle and High Schools in 1885-86 at the instance of Mr. C. B. Clarke, Inspector of the Presidency Division, for the training of *patshala* teachers, continued to increase in number till 1892-93, when a reaction set in, and they began to die out even more quickly than they had come into being. Ultimately in 1896-97 the system to which they belonged was condemned, and abandoned on the score of being expensive, unpopular, and generally unworkable.

(f) Guru Training Schools.

On the recommendation of the Simla Conference of 1901, the Government of India decided that renewed attempts should be made to train village school teachers through a suitable type of training schools scattered freely over the country. As a result, in Bengal the Guru Training School System of 1902 was brought into operation. The underlying principle was that training schools must be taken to the teachers. This being postulated, the schools were designed to be migratory—"moving tents" to be pitched in a new locality when the teachers of one neighbourhood had been trained. Inspectors were advised to select in every subdivision a village in which there was no primary school, but which was centrically situated relatively to a group of villages in which there were primary schools. At the chosen village an inexpensive schoolhouse was to be built for 10 *guru* pupils. The training schools were to be upon the Upper Primary or Middle basis accordingly as the *gurus* admitted into them had passed, respectively, the Lower Primary or the Upper Primary Examinations. *Gurus* with the former qualification would have their general education raised to the Upper Primary standard, and those who had the Upper Primary Certificate would be advanced to the Middle School standard. The course of studies would occupy two years, except in the case of *gurus* who had already passed the Middle Vernacular stage. For them it would

be a one year course. *Gurus* who had their own *patshalas* were to continue teaching in them, and come to the training school daily for one hour's instruction. They were to receive no stipends ; but an allowance of Rs. 3 a month was payable to *gurus* who discontinued working in their *patshalas* in favour of a full day's instruction in the training school. The staff was originally designed to consist of a solitary teacher ; but at an early date a second teacher was added. The Head Pandit was to receive a salary of Rs. 9* a month, and he was to hold the Vernacular Mastership Certificate. The income from fees was to be his perquisite. The Assistant Pandit, when appointed, was given a salary of Rs. 7 a month. The syllabus of studies was vaguely defined ; and the certificates were to be granted on the results of an *in situ* examination conducted by the Deputy Inspector of the District. Under these auspices 135 *guru* training schools were established within one year, in 1902.

The Scheme for Guru Training Schools Defective but Improved.

Schools started with an organisation as hastily conceived as was the case with the *guru* training schools, were foredoomed to failure. The original salary offered to the Head Pandit was too small to attract men of the proper stamp ; and as the schools were brought into existence wholesale, and the remuneration of the Head Pandit was below the market value of men holding the Vernacular Mastership Certificate, the schools had to be staffed from the hedgerows and bypaths of educational incompetency. It was, therefore, no matter for surprise that the committee appointed by Government in 1905 to give definition to the course of studies in *guru* training schools, was unsparing in its criticism of the institutions. The committee "pointed out how useless it was to pretend to

* This rate was subsequently enhanced from time to time : in 1903 to Rs. 12, in 1904 to Rs. 18 or Rs. 22 according to the locality. In the same year the Assistant Pandit's pay was raised to Rs. 10, and the income from fees was ordered to be shared between him and the Head Pandit in the ratio of 1 : 2. The improved rates, however, did not mend the quality of the teaching, for the same persons were retained. In 1909 the Pandits were declared eligible for pension.

train a *guru* who, concurrently with his training course, was working his own school, explaining that what this really meant was, that the *guru* presented himself daily at the *guru* training school for about an hour, and attempted to do in that time a full day's work. Moreover, they emphasised the serious drawback which the temporary and peripatetic character of the schools had necessitated, notably the impracticability under those conditions of constructing suitable school buildings or of providing hostels for the students or quarters for the teachers, or gardens without which the *gurus* could not be taught the practical study of plant life." As a result of the general recommendations of a subsequent committee, the stipend of the *guru*-pupils was raised from Rs. 5 to Rs. 10 according to local requirements. Old *guru* schools, which had been set up in places which were favourable, were rebuilt, and 96 new schools were opened. All building operations were now entrusted to the Public Works Department, and schoolhouses, hostels, and teachers' quarters were built to a standardised plan, and every new institution had a plot of land measuring not less than three bighas. The *gurus* who came in for training were to be either intending *gurus*, or *gurus* already employed in lower primary schools, or head pandits of upper primary schools. The expenses of each school were sanctioned to the following scale :—

Head Pandit	...	...	Rs. 18	0	0
Second „	...	...	„ 10	0	0
Third „	...	...	„ 8	0	0
16 stipends from Rs. 5 to Rs. 10			„ 125	0	0
Contingencies	...	...	„ 5	0	0

Monthly TotalRs. 166 0 0

In 1912 there were in all 201 *guru* training schools, and the intention was to increase their number by 100 ; but this expansion had to be deferred for want of funds.

Among the measures taken to improve the general work done in *guru* training schools mention should be made of the introduction of a common examination for all the schools in a Division. This has introduced a spirit of healthy competition, and has tended to the maintenance of efficiency on the part both of teachers and pupils. Under recent order of Government the subsistence allowance of trained teachers in *patshalas* has been augmented by Rs. 3 a month ; but in spite of this betterment to their prospects, the proper type of man is not readily forthcoming for instruction in the schools. A variety of reasons is advanced to account for this, the principle reason being that teachers run the risk of losing their schools by their temporary removal to a *guru* training school. On the other hand it does not appear that the best method of recruiting *gurus* has been seriously considered in some Divisions. Moreover, the earnings possible in the average primary school are so small, that, the increased monthly departmental allowance notwithstanding, a trained teacher with his comparatively widened education is able to command larger incomes outside schools.

But little actual headway has therefore been made during the 10 years in which *guru* training schools have been sending forth trained teachers ; for of the *gurus* employed in primary schools on the 31st March 1912, only 11·4 per cent. were returned as trained. In 1907 the percentage was 5·6. The average normal increase is therefore about 1 per cent. per annum. Whatever allowances may be made for the slow advance, the necessity for speeding up the rate of training teachers obtrudes itself, and will take no denial. The hitherto rate of training teachers must be greatly accelerated if the 36,334 primary schools on the books of the Department on the 31st March 1912 are to be manned by trained *gurus*.

But in addition to the measures that may be introduced for speeding up the training of primary school teachers, early steps should be taken to put a stop to the leakage of

trained men. In dealing with the *guru* Training School System, the Fourth Quinquennial Report makes the following remarks:—“The weak point in the scheme lies in the fact that a large percentage of the trained *gurus* who pass through the schools do not return to their primary schools to teach, but take up other employment. The money spent in their training is thus lost to Government. In 1910, no less than 1,325 *gurus* passed out from the schools with certificates of competence, but the number of trained *gurus* actually employed in schools of all classes increased only by 585. It is thus clear that 740 *gurus* in that year sought employment other than teaching. Similarly in 1911 and 1912, 1,232 and 953 *gurus*, respectively, obtained certificates of competence, but the increase of trained teachers in actual service amounted to 944 and 521. The result was that during these two years Government lost the services of 288 and 432 *gurus* whom it had taken pains to train.” The subject was examined in the office of the Director of Public Instruction, and it was there calculated that the average annual leakage of trained and certificated *gurus* amounted to no less than 50 per cent. The proposition that every *guru* coming in for training should execute a bond to the effect that on the completion of his training, he will teach for a certain number of years, has been deemed premature. In simple truth the remedy lies in so improving the remuneration of *patshala gurus* that it will be worth a trained *guru's* while to resume, or follow, the calling of a village schoolmaster.

Perhaps in no department of its educational operations has the task imposed upon Government been so difficult of accomplishment as that of improving the teaching in vernacular schools through the introduction into them of trained teachers. That great progress has been made no one will deny. From small beginnings, cramped in their design through the insufficiency of the funds made available, to the present crop of *guru* training schools is a long stride. But unless the whole *guru* training school system is more

liberally financed so as to admit of better main and subsidiary buildings, more highly qualified teachers, and a more soundly compacted educational unit, there is little prospect of the final goal being attained. The subject, however, must be quitted at the stage at which it has now arrived—a proposed complete overhauling in which concentration of effort in comparatively large training institutions is the most prominent feature.



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